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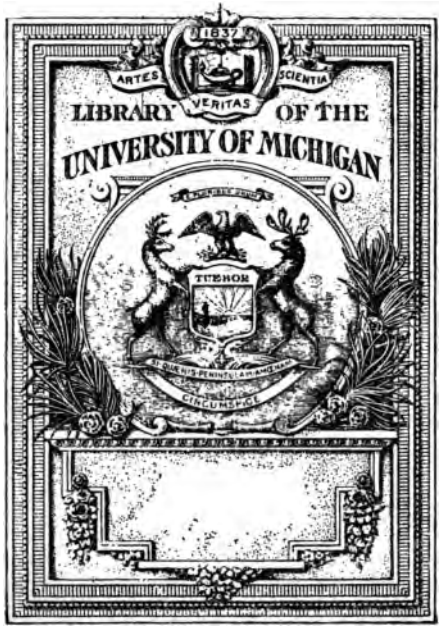
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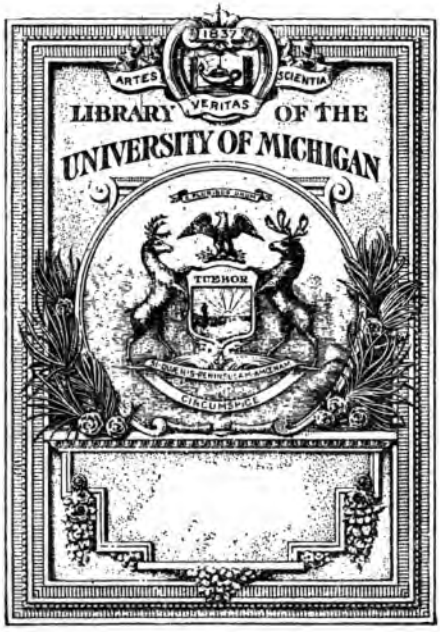
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WIELAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN AND HER CULTURAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

BY

MATTHEW G. BACH

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WIELAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN AND HER CULTURAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

PREFACE

The author of this monograph became interested in the topic of Wieland's attitude towards woman in the year 1918, while working under the guidance of his beloved teacher, the late Professor Calvin Thomas, on a seminar paper entitled "Der Zeitgeist des 18, Jahrhunderts, wie er sich in Wielands *Agathon* abspiegelt." The decidedly modern views on the feminist question expressed by Aspasia in her impassioned arraignment of the entire order of men encouraged the present writer to look into the matter somewhat more closely, with a view to gaining a definite and reasonably complete idea of Wieland's opinion on the subject, basing the investigation on all the works of the poet that contained any significant references to woman's characteristics or her position in the world.

So far as the author knows, no comprehensive study has been made of this particular phase of Wieland's life and philosophy. Except for a few brief articles in magazines and newspapers and occasional references in the Wieland biographies and in various monographs on the poet,[1] the theme seems not to have been discussed at any length.

It is hoped, therefore, that the present investigation will be found of interest by students of German literature, as being an attempt both to establish clearly the attitude which Wieland assumed in his relations with woman during the various

[1] Marie Rassow: "Wieland und die Frauen" in *Die Frau,* Monatschrift, v. 20; G. Wilhelm: "Die Frauenbildung bei Wieland" in *Zeitschrift f. d. österr. Gymnasien,* 1901, pp. 287-301; Hamann, E.: *Wielands Bildungsideal,* Diss. Leipzig, 1907, etc.

periods of his spiritual and intellectual growth and to give due prominence to the liberality of thought out of which grew his efforts to raise the cultural and social status of contemporary womankind.

In keeping this double aim before him the author has deemed it of vital importance to consider Wieland not only as a philosopher who had his own theories to contribute to the general discussion, but also as a product of his age and nation, who could not but be influenced by the leading opinions prevalent in his environment. To this end it has been thought advisable to prefix to the actual analysis of Wieland's attitude an introductory chapter giving a brief summary of the social position of woman just at the time of the poet's appearance in literature.

In the discussion of the subject which follows a twofold method has been adopted as best serving the double purpose in view. In setting forth the poet's attitude toward woman as shown in his personal relations and incorporated into his philosophy of life during his period of development, the chronological order has been observed. Following this, the poet's views of woman and her place in society have been marshalled according to a topical analysis.

No work has been omitted from consideration which contains any important reference to the subject or has significance for the poet's attitude toward the "eternal feminine." The material of research has been found to include, in addition to the poet's letters, practically all the novels, several pertinent essays in the *Deutsche Merkur*, the few dramatic works, and of his poetry, the *Jugendwerke, Idris und Zenide, Der neue Amadis, Gandalin, Die erste Liebe, Musarion, Die Grazien, Oberon, Göttergespräche,* and the minor poems. For the text of Wieland use has been made of the edition issued by the Königlich Preussische Akademie so far as available. For

other works citations are drawn from the editions of Pröhle, Cotta and Hempel.[2] For details regarding this and other bibliographic references cf. pp. 96-100.

In conclusion the author wishes to express his gratitude to those who have lent him assistance and inspiration: to Alexander Green, Ph.D., for valuable criticism in the early stages of this study; to his friend, Gabriel Engel, A.B., for helpful advice in the preparation of the manuscript for the press and in the reading of the proof; but most of all to Professor Robert Herndon Fife, whose continued interest, friendly encouragement, and invaluable suggestions made the completion of this monograph possible.

[2] The following abbreviations are used:

H. = Hempel.
D.N.L. = Deutsche National-Literatur.
P.A. = Königlich Preussische Akademie.
Ag. = Agathon, Cotta edition.
A.B. = Ausgewählte Briefe.
D.B. = Denkwürdige Briefe.

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INTRODUCTION

In reviewing one of Ludwig Geiger's contributions to the study of Romanticism, Jakob Minor remarks: "The contrast which Kant pointed out between the two concepts 'legality' and 'morality' is even more important to keep in mind when judging Romanticism than when forming an opinion about moral questions in the literary world at large.

"From the point of view of legality, which is always that of the respectable citizen, one must condemn both the life and the work of the romanticists. But then one must not stop short of the consequences. Since before the law all are equal, one will also have to take exception to Günther and Bürger, to Goethe and Schiller, nay even to a moral genius like Schleiermacher. In such a case one really assumes the standpoint of the *Lex Heinze* and all literary men are, therefore, judged morally, a common herd (ein Pack).

"Before the bar of morality all men are not equal. It is not by the way in which they have sinned in their lives and works that great literary men are to be judged, but by the ideal which lived within them and which they very frequently failed to express because of their errors and misconceptions. With their gaze lifted to the skies, they strive after pure morality, but at each step they stumble over the moral code which lies at their feet. Nevertheless morality is always the higher thing and the moral code which obviously differs according to time and place, is the lesser thing."[1]

[1] *Zeitschrift für d. österr. Gymnasien,* Jahrgang 53, 1902, p. 44.

Now if such an eminent literary scholar and fair critic as Minor holds a brief in this regard for the romanticists, how much more is one justified in adopting this tolerant spirit of criticism toward Wieland, whose life is almost entirely free from the illicit extravagances that may justly be charged against the representatives of the Romantic School.

With the exception of one unfortunate event,—Wieland's relations with Christiane Hagel (Bibi),[2] which brought upon him the stigma of immorality,—a single instance is yet to be found to justify the abuse with which a number of his contemporaries[3] and scholars of later years[4] have sought to defame his character and besmirch his life work. Even in his affair with Bibi, the blame cannot be placed entirely on him. His pathetic letters to Sophie La Roche, whose help he implored for the unfortunate girl when she was about to become a mother, reveal also how much his failure to marry Bibi was due to the narrow-mindedness and bigotry of his time. Difference in religious creed; the strong opposition of Bibi's Catholic parents, *Kleinstädter* of the ignorant type, and of Wieland's own parents, more cultured but no less fanatical;

[2] R. Hassencamp: *Neue Briefe Chr. M. Wielands, vornehmlich an Sophie La Roche,* Stuttgart, 1844; letters Nos. 18 to 25, 27, 28; also cf. E. Bodemann: *Julie von Bondeli u. ihr Freundekreis;* letters to Zimmermann, Nos. 35, 36, 37.

[3] F. C. Schlosser in *Geschichte d. 18 Jhs.,* p. 350, Heidelberg, 1823, says: "Wieland habe das deutsche Volk total verführt, verweichlicht und Gift in die Herzen desselben gegossen." This is about the sentiment of all of Wieland's adversaries, particularly the members of the Göttinger Hainbund. A letter Bertuch's to Gleim (Weimar, Oct. 24, 1774) describes very vividly the attitude of the Bund towards Wieland (D.N.L. v. 51, Vorwort, p. LXVIII).

[4] H. Pröhle, himself no great admirer of Wieland's character, points out in the Vorwort to his Wieland edition (D.N.L.) that after 1813 the judgment of Wieland and his life work was altogether too one-sided. It was largely due to J. W. Loebell, whose appreciation of the poet (in 1858) was fair and sympathetic, that modern scholarship has revised its estimate of Wieland.

the animosities and threats of the entire community on which he was then dependent,—all proved to be obstacles which would have been well-nigh insuperable for even a stronger character than Wieland's.

It is, therefore, gratifying to notice, that in the light of a more tolerant spirit of criticism, modern critics like Seuffert, Muncker, Jacobi and others have presented a juster view of Wieland, and contemporary scholarship is gradually becoming more fully aware of the soundness of his character and of the profound importance of his contribution to the development of German social culture in the eighteenth century.

Our present interest lies in determining the nature of the poet's contribution to an important side of this development, the improvement of woman's position in society.

The eighteenth century, the great era of enlightenment, with its ceaseless appeal to reason and its constant efforts to emancipate the individual by intellectual and moral culture, did not confine its liberalizing tendencies to man alone. It won its way to a full realization of the injustice to which woman had been subjected during the previous centuries and emphatically gave expression to its bitter indignation at the tyranny under which she suffered. It was natural that Wieland, as one of the most representative minds of his period, should also have devoted his energies to a question which from the mid-century on was to enter into a state of ever more seething and feverish agitation.

In dealing with Wieland's contribution to the question of woman's position and progress, it will be necessary, first of all, to determine so far as possible the situation as he found it. This entails at least a brief consideration of the status of woman in German life in the period immediately preceding that in which our poet lived and wrote. The first chapter is therefore devoted to a review of the prevailing ideas regarding

woman at the end of the seventeenth and during the first half of the eighteenth century. In the light thus gained of the problems confronting Wieland on his entrance into the field of authorship, we shall proceed to deal with the poet's own contribution to the question. No attempt will be made to give a detailed discussion of his personal relations with the women of his environment. These will be considered only in so far as they are auxiliary to our main theme: the poet's attitude, as expressed in his works and letters, toward woman in general and her place in society. What are his opinions on woman's natural endowments as distinguished from those of man? What are his views as to her proper sphere of activity? What is his idea of a proper education for women? What are his conceptions of love and marriage? How far are the radical views which he expresses on the feminist question the result of an inner conviction and how far are they merely a reflection of the gradual change in the ethical ideals of his time? These are the questions which the following chapters will seek to answer. Out of the results thus obtained an effort will then be made to sum up Wieland's contribution to one of the burning questions of his day.

CHAPTER I

THE STATUS OF WOMAN BETWEEN 1650 AND 1750

The seventeenth century presents one of the darkest chapters in the development of the cultural and ethical life of Germany. The Thirty Years' War brutally destroyed many of the spiritual benefits of the Reformation and carried the germs of degeneration and decay into every sphere of society and human relationship. Of all unfortunate conditions of the century none was perhaps so lamentable as the pitiful and degrading state to which woman was reduced through the dissolution of social life in Germany. The grossly sensuous and materialistic conception of life in all its aspects brought with it a correspondingly degraded conception of sex relations.[1] Woman, as she appears in the fashionable literature of the time, is regarded on the one hand as the incarnation of vice and the cause of all evil in the world,[2] on the other hand as a mere instrument of pleasure;[3] and love means little more than the vulgar expression of wanton lust and lasciviousness.[4]

[1] Karl Biedermann: *Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert,* II, 1, pp. 27, 30, 34, 35, 43, 180. Julian Schmidt: *Gesch. d. geistigen Lebens in Deutschl.,* Einleit., pp. 3, 6, 9. Ed. Otto: *Deutsches Frauenleben,* p. 126 ff. Johannes Scherr: *Gesch. der deut. Frauenwelt,* II, p. 267.

[2] Cf. Athenodor in D. C. Lohenstein's *Armenius und Thusnelda,* D.N.L. v. 37, p. 463 ff. L. Cholevius: *Die bedeutendsten deutschen Romane des 17. Jhs.,* Leipzig, 1866, p. 107-8. Philipp v. Zesen, in his *Simson,* maintains that women were at all times the perdition of individual men as well as of entire nations, and he proceeds to illustrate his statement with a long blacklist of such women from history.

[3] Johannes Scherr: *Gesch. der deut. Frauenwelt,* II, p. 267 ff.

[4] This conception finds expression in the bombastic and turgid literary style of the Second Silesian School. As representative illustrations of

It is evident that these ideas must have had a most demoralizing influence upon family and home life, the dignity of which had been so greatly emphasized by Luther and the Reformation.[5]

Under the spell of debaucheries such as had undermined the moral condition of the French court, the German princes and nobility fell an easy prey to the bewitching influence of mistresses and courtesans. While the members of the upper classes strove to outdo each other in depraved practices, the middle class became contaminated and the social life of the entire nation began to approach disintegration. Gradually people became so used to this state of affairs that they looked

---

the hectic fashion in which the writers of the Marinistic manner treat the theme, the following passages are cited:

a. "Indem ein verliebter Wind die Segel meiner Sinnen auf das unbeschiffte Meer ihrer (der Geliebten) Marmelbrust hintreibt, so erblicke ich die Venus in zwei Muscheln schwimmen, wo lauter Anmutsmilch um die Rubinen gerinnet." (Quoted by Joh. Scherr in *Gesch. d. deut. Frauenwelt,* II, p. 108.)

b. "Der Zunder heisser Brunst ist selbst in mir entglommen,
Seitdem ich zweymal sie im Bade wahrgenommen.
Ihr Mund bepurpurte die Chrystallinen-fluth,
Die Brüste schneiten Perlen, die Augen blitzten Gluth,
Wenn sie ihr Haupt erhob aus ihrer Marmel-Wanne,
Schien sie das Ebenbild der Sonn' im Wasser-Manne.
Die Kwellen kriegten mehr von ihren Strahlen Brand,
Vom Leibe Silber Well'n, vom Haare güld'nen Sand."

(From "Ibrahim Sultan," by D. C. Lohenstein, Leipzig, 1679, p. 18.) "Lohenstein," says Julian Schmidt, "is a strict moralist and his works have the purpose of depicting vice in its full horror, but his fantasy moves in the realm of the tanner's yard and of the brothel." (J. Schmidt, etc., Einleit., p. 48.)

c. ". . . So anmuthig weich ist kein Bette, wan es schon mit lauter Pflaumfedern erfüllt ist als dieses zweifache Lippenbettchen, darauf ein jeder Mund zu ruhen lüstern war, zu sein pflegte." (From Philipp v. Zesen's *Simson.* Extract in Cholevius, etc., p. 115.)

[5] K. Biedermann, II, 1, p. 96; Julian Schmidt, I, Einleitung, p. 18.

upon mistresses as the factor most vital to the happiness of their sovereign.[6] If the daughter of a middle class family chanced to be pleasing in the eyes of a gentleman of the nobility or of the court, she considered it an extraordinary stroke of good fortune, and her family in the majority of cases did not hesitate to hand her over as a mistress to the nobleman or the prince.[7] Among the upper classes love affairs of a dubious character came to be the fashion and the sanctity of marriage was often violated without incurring the indignation of an outraged public opinion.[8]

In their marital relations husband and wife moved in an atmosphere of insincerity and hypocrisy, since marriage was rarely based on mutual understanding and genuine affection.[9] For in Germany, as in all the countries where the legal aspects of the marriage institution were founded on Roman and Canon Law, marriage was a sort of benevolent despotism, the man being the absolute ruler of the entire household and the woman his obedient subject.[10] The daughter's opinion as to her future mate was seldom asked,[11] and in most cases marriage meant a private transaction between the parents of the bride and the bridegroom, monetary considerations being of the most vital importance.[12] Even among the cultured men and women of that time marriage was more an affair of convenience than of the heart. Men and women decided to enter

[6] K. Biedermann, II, 1, p. 101.
[7] Cf. M. A. V. Thümmel: *Wilhelmine,* I. Ges., D.N.L., v. 136, pp. 15-16.
[8] Otto, p. 133.
[9] *Idem.*
[10] Eugene A. Hecker: *A Short History of Women's Rights,* p. 244.
[11] As late as 1765 Wieland writes to Sophie LaRoche concerning his own marriage and makes the following remark: "Car vous savés, il n'est pas ordinairement question du goût et de l'inclination de la fille, tant pis pour elle et pour l'époux, si l'amour ne vient pas après les nôces." (R. Hassencamp: *Neue Briefe C. M. Wielands,* Brief 41.)
[12] K. Biedermann, II, 1, p. 527.

into a union for life after they had scarcely exchanged a few words, or they made their choice merely on the recommendation of friends.[13]

Like everything else in the Rococo age, family life was governed by empty conventionalities. It lacked the free and easy companionship and social congeniality which are the foundations of happy domestic relations. The father ruled the house with almost despotic authority, demanding from all members of his household unconditional obedience. He, himself, and the sons when they grew up, compensated themselves for the spiritual and social emptiness of their home life by jovial gatherings outside of the house in the guilds or in public places, where they drank, played cards or talked politics.[14] The wife, however, as all other female members of the family, lived in strict seclusion, confined to the dreary routine of domesticity, where her household duties were numerous, where she became a slave to the kitchen, the needle, and the spinning wheel.[15] Her only contact with the world at large was maintained by the small talk of the local hairdresser or through an occasional visit of a gossipy neighbor or relative.[16] It is this great void in woman's daily existence, the utter lack of an ideal in her spiritual and social life, which often prevented her moral and mental development. [17]

As for the education of women during this period, it was

[13] Gustav Freytag: *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit,* 4. Band., pp. 148-9; also Biedermann, I, 1, p. 528. Biedermann quotes the naïve account of the theologian Semler of his wooing and marriage as an example of the distorted conception of morality which characterized even the cultured people of the time. (*Idem.*)

[14] H. Scheube: *Die Frauen d. 18 Jhs.,* Berlin, 1876, p. 271. K. Biedermann, II, 1, pp. 521, 527, 529.

[15] A. v. Hanstein: *Die Frauen in der Gesch. d. deut. Geisteslebens d. 18. u. 19. Jhs.,* I, p. 54.

[16] Scheube, pp. 273-4.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 27.

indeed quite in keeping with the general spirit of the time. With the notable exception of the Duchy of Gotha, where in 1642 obligatory school attendance for both sexes was introduced, there were very few public schools for the elementary instruction and none for the higher education of girls. The German states confined themselves largely to the development of elementary schools for boys only, and female children were generally taught privately by the wives of the elementary school teachers, women whose own education was not on a very high plane. In addition to that there were a number of small private schools, but the official reports of the time about such of these private institutions as were conducted by women contain little that would commend their pedagogical standing.[18]

It is true that during the seventeenth century there were some women,[19] particularly the wives, daughters, and sisters of university teachers, who rose far above the rank and file of their sex and even vied in learning with the greatest intellectual minds. It is enough to mention Anna Maria von Schürmann (1607-1678), the most famous learned woman of the century, who was equally proficient as scholar and artist; and Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts and Sciences, noted for her nature studies and copper etchings.[20] Unfortunately, however, such instances were exceptional, for the relatively few women who, even as late as the early eighteenth century, could boast of any education at all had had only the most elementary rudiments of instruction.[21]

[18] Hanstein, I, p. 68; F. Strassburger: *Die Mädchenerziehung in d. Gesch. d. Pädagogik d. 17. u. 18. Jhs. in Frankr. u. Deutschl.*, pp. 103-4.

[19] Johann Kaspar Eberti in his *Eröffnetes Kabinet des gelehrten Frauenzimmers* (1706) enumerates about one hundred names of women of the 16th and 17th centuries who were distinguished for their learning. Bauer: *Deutcher Frauenspiegel*, II, p. 146.

[20] Hanstein, I, pp. 28-43.

[21] Bauer, II, p. 193.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when German life in all its phases had come under the complete sway of the prevailing French influence, women adopted all the absurdities and iniquities of the baroque style, characteristic mainly for its immodesty in dress and stiltedness in manners and speech.[22] The rearing of the young girls among the nobility and the wealthier part of the Bürgertum was generally left to light-headed French governesses and dancing instructors, who wasted their pupils' time by impressing upon the immature minds only the meaningless conventions of society. The young girl, in stiffened skirt and tightly laced corset, her painted face peering out from under her heavy towering headdress, with cheek, throat and breast adorned with colored "beauty-spots" or "mouches," was taught only the superficialities of deportment in parlor and ballroom.[23]

Among the middle classes girls were rarely expected to know more than what pertained to the qualifications of a practical housewife. In fact, to be informed in something beyond the scope of ordinary house management and a mechanical knowledge of the catechism and the Bible was to be regarded by the general public as a freak or supernatural phenomenon.[24]

It would, however, be painting the picture too dark if we

[22] For an authenticated description in detail of the shamelessness with which women of the time displayed their hollow affectation, their insane extravagance, their immodesty in dress and speech, their passion for finery and jewels, and their neglect of family and home, cf. Bauer, II, chap. XIX; also Biedermann, II, 1, iv. Abschnitt, pp. 81-176.

[23] C. Touaillon: *Der deutsche Frauenroman des 18 Jhs.*, 6. Kap.

[24] Strassburger, pp. 102, 117. It is interesting to note that in England, also, this attitude toward the learned woman can be noticed. Thus Mrs. Bathsua Makin, in her work, "An Essay to Revive the Ancient Education of Gentlewomen" (1673), says: "A learned woman is thought to be a comet that bodes mischief whenever it appears." (Myra Reynolds: *The Learned Lady in England*, 1650-1760, Boston and New York, 1920, p. 280.) Cf. also Biedermann, II, 1, p. 527, for a quotation from the *Vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*, 1, Bd., S. 45.

failed to mention that during this whole period of spiritual and moral decay, which lasted well into the second half of the eighteenth century, there were many serious minded men and women who voiced their protests against the abuse of human nature. Thus, even in the seventeenth century, the so-called poetic orders (*Dichterorden*) sang the praise of women, took up the gauntlet for the rights of the sex, and gradually admitted them into their organizations.[25] The most important of these orders, "Die Gesellschaft der Schäfer an der Pegnitz," which was founded by Harsdörfer and Klai, counted a considerable number of female members, who ably represented the cause of their sex against all antagonists. Among the foremost of these women we might mention Maria Katharina Hedenin, known under the name "Stockfletin Dorilis"; Barbara Purzel, named "Dafne"; Frau Limburgerin, called "Magdalis"; Gertraud Eifler, crowned poetess laureate in 1671.[26] Both in their writings and public utterances these members of the Pegnitzschäfer vigorously denounced the old, threadbare doctrine of theologians that woman was the incarnation of evil and impurity and therefore not worthy of association with scholars and poets.[27] They blamed all of woman's misery and her moral downfall upon the injustice and tyranny of man and advocated education as the best means of improving her condition. Thus Bethulius Floridan (Sigmund v. Birken), probably the most prominent member of the "Pegnitzer Schäfergesellschaft," in a wedding poem entitled "Ehrenpreis des lieblöblichen weiblichen Geschlechts" (1669) makes one of his female characters expostulate against the assertion that woman is the incarnation of wickedness, claiming that men have no reason whatsoever to consider themselves as angels: "Indeed it is

[25] Julian Schmidt, I, Einl., p. 45. Hanstein, I, p. 48 ff.
[26] Hanstein, I, pp. 49, 52-56.
[27] Ed. Otto, p. 126.

not fair that we are made to suffer the blame for the frailties of the first woman. If all men were angels they might perhaps be justified in talking of women as of evil spirits. But I should like to make experience, as well as ancient and modern history, bear witness to the contrary, namely that men are ten times more wicked than women. Who invents the heresies? Who oppresses, devastates, and destroys land and people? Who instigates and carries on bloodthirsty war? Who protects and supports wrong and injustice? Is not man responsible for all this?"[28]

Another woman in the same work voices the grievances of her sex, saying: "How shall we women ever reach perfection if our abilities are nipped in the bud? They imprison us, so to speak, in the house, and as in a penitentiary they accustom us to vile labor, to the needle and the spindle. They drive us to the kitchen and to the household, and thus many a woman who would rather wish to be a Mary is forced to be a Martha. Indeed, we are condemned to barbarism and ignorance (sind zur Barbarey and Unwissenheit verdammt), because if there happens to be a woman who strives after desirable learning, she is scored and laughed at, not only by men, but by members of our own sex, for the reason that these latter are so depraved in their vanity and brutality that they think very little of a learned woman. . . . They want us to be virtuous, but how are we to be so, if they forbid us the reading of books from which virtue is to be studied? . . . . Why must we thus come to ruin and bear the stigma of stupidity, when ignorance is forced upon us? Are not we, as well as men, human beings?"[29]

These individual protests, although increasing considerably in number, particularly after Fénelon's *Sur l'éducation des filles* (1689) became known in Germany through Francke's

[28] Quoted by Hanstein, I, p. 53.
[29] *Ibid.*, I, p. 54.

translation (1698),[30] could affect only small circles of scholars and cultured people, who were in keen sympathy with all efforts toward reform. But more vital agencies were necessary in order to reach the vast masses of the public and to awaken them to a full realization of their unjust attitude toward woman. These forces soon presented themselves in the two great currents of thought which were to reshape all conceptions of spiritual, material, and moral life and to infuse new vigor into the disintegrating social organism of the nation.

Pietism and Rationalism,—these were the spiritual movements that gradually broke the stagnation and stirred the depths of the German soul. One took its origin in indigenous soil, springing from the very midst of the people; the other came from foreign lands and gradually worked its way into the hearts of the younger generation.

Pietism began as a reaction against the formalistic and intolerant spirit of a rigid orthodoxy. In the midst of the general decay, there were still some people who succeeded in keeping their hearts and souls attuned to the spiritual in its deeper manifestations. These pious and deeply emotional souls tore themselves away from the declining Lutheran church and gathered together in small groups of their own (collegiæ pietatis), with the purpose of freeing religion from all dogmatism and establishing through devotion, godliness of life, and practical deeds of Christian love a direct communion with God.[31]

The nobility of spirit, the fervor and sincerity, and the exclusiveness which characterized the whole movement at the beginning, could not fail to attract many serious minded persons from all classes and to make a particular appeal to the emo-

[30] Fénelon's ideas about woman's education inspired Aug. Hermann Francke to his reformatory activity in this direction (Hanstein, I, p. 6).

[31] Freytag, IV, pp. 14-15; also Biedermann, II, 1, p. 317 and notes.

tional nature of women.[32] The latter soon began to flock to the religious meetings of the pietistic communities, where they were before long admitted on equal terms with their husbands, fathers, and brothers. "It was a moment of no little importance," says Julian Schmidt, "for the entire forward movement, that it also gave woman the opportunity to exert her influence in religious life."[33] Pietism became the soil which produced those highly cultured women and "beautiful souls" whose influence and inspiration were to dominate the literary world of the eighteenth century. Women soon became the confidential advisers and friends of their great male contemporaries, with whom they exchanged thoughts, either in person or in an extended correspondence, about the most vital problems of the time.[34] We need only recall names like Meta Klopstock, Sophie LaRoche, Caroline Flachsmann, Frl. von Klettenberg, women who all grew up in a pietistic environment, in order to realize the blessings that this movement carried with it in spite of its shortcomings.

The pietists contributed a great deal to the improvement and refinement of manners and morals, for they emphasized a more dignified relation between the sexes and focused all their efforts on purifying family and home life. Their tolerant and sympathetic attitude toward people outside their circles, their activity in the realm of charity and education, their insistence on modesty in dress and habits, could not fail to have a purifying effect upon their entire social environment.[35]

Unfortunately the reformatory zeal of the pietists in this direction soon went far beyond what the founders of the

[32] Freytag, IV, pp. 19-21; also Max Bauer, II, p. 146.
[33] Julian Schmidt, I, p. 233.
[34] Freytag, IV, pp. 21-23.
[35] Biedermann, II, 1, p. 520; also Freytag, IV, pp. 23-25. For Francke's charitable and pedagogic activities, cf. Hanstein, I, pp. 6 ff., 67-72; also Freytag, IV, p. 24.

movement intended it to be, particularly since the University of Halle after 1690 became the centre of pietistic activity. It was not long before the most innocent and harmless pleasures were prohibited, the reading of worldly writings forbidden, and arts, like poetry, music, and painting, held to be the expression of unworthy desires which tended to stunt the soul rather than lift and develop it.[36] For this reason the movement, which at its inception proved a source of rejuvenation, degenerated into a hindrance to spiritual progress. Devotion and godliness, extravagant piety, fraud and sanctimoniousness invaded the religious community, which thus became a place of refuge for scheming hypocrites and impostors.[37] One need not wonder, therefore, that pietism in the second half of the eighteenth century served as a butt for the attacks of the rationalists, among whom Wieland, whose youthful development fell also under its influences, wielded a very sharp weapon.

While pietism began in the sphere of religious activity, rationalism invaded every phase of life and sought to tear down all the barriers which had restrained the human mind in the past. By a constant appeal to reason it advocated personal culture as a means of freeing the individual from all bonds and of impressing him with the importance of his own value. Leibniz, Thomasius and Chr. Wolff are the outstanding figures in the philosophic interpretation of this movement in Germany.[38] It was their devotion to the general enlightenment and emancipation of thought together with the human-

[36] Freytag, IV, p. 19.

[37] Biedermann, II, 1, p. 340. To furnish an illustration of the beginning of the decay of pietism, Biedermann quotes an interesting passage from Semler's *Leben*, 1. Bd., 32 ff., 38 ff. (Biedermann, II, 2, pp. 55-56.) Also cf. Freytag, IV, pp. 62-64.

[38] Biedermann, II, 1, pp. 209-268 (on Leibniz); pp. 346-383 (on Thomasius); pp. 394-426 (on Wolff).

istic efforts of literary men like Gellert, Gottsched, Rabener, and many others which helped to usher in a more liberal conception of the rights of woman in society.

Numerous periodicals, known as "Moralische Wochenschriften" largely because they were modeled after the English "moral weeklies" like the *Spectator,* the *Guardian,* or the *Tatler,* grew up like mushrooms over night.[39] In these periodicals as well as in their literary writings the representative minds of the time applied the humanitarian tendencies of rationalism to the unfortunate condition of womankind and demanded vigorously that women also should come into their rights. Among the moral weeklies, which were first introduced by Bodmer in Zürich with his "Discurse der Mahlern," the "Hamburger Patriot" and Gottsched's "Vernünftige Tadlerinnen," the first woman's journal, stand out most prominently. The efforts of these apostles of enlightenment were directed mainly toward the improvement of morals and manners and of woman's education. They called attention to the dissoluteness and brutality of young men, to the frivolity and ignorance of the young women, and to the moral looseness of family and home life.[40]

After the question of education came to be the foremost topic of discussion, some writers pointed to the hetairas as the ideal representatives of culture and refinement in ancient Greece. Thus Wieland chose to make this type of woman the heroine of his novels, and Hewel translated Alkiphron's *Hetairenbriefe* (1767).[41]

[39] Cf. O. Lehmann: *Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften des 18. Jhs. als pädagogische Reformschriften,* Leipzig, 1893.

[40] Biedermann, II, 1, p. 519, cites the *Vernünft. Tadl.* (I Bd., S. 294, 416; II Bd., S. 55, 288, 378 ff.); *Patriot* (II Bd., S. 146, 446; III Bd., S. 155, 268). Regarding the pedagogical influence of the *Vernünft Tadl.,* cf. Hanstein, I, pp. 80-87, and Strassburger, pp. 116-123.

[41] Touaillon, p. 62 and note.

But within the ranks of the champions of women's rights there was always a marked difference of opinion as to the aim and the extent of female education. It is true that Gottsched, like his opponents, insisted that it was to the interest of the state to have cultured and educated mothers; however, in his zeal for the improvement of the condition of the female sex, he laid the main emphasis on the ideal of the learned woman and even advocated her admission into the universities. His adversaries, on the other hand, wished to see in the matter of education of woman nothing but the means of making her morally and mentally better fitted for her duties as a wife and mother.[42]

The moral weeklies had a most purifying effect upon the manners and morals of the middle classes and were in this regard greatly aided by the movement which came in the train of Richardson's moralizing sentimentality in 1750, and in that of Rousseau's exaggerated nature worship in 1760. The German sentimentalists, like Gellert, Hermes, Sophie LaRoche and others, abandoned the far-fetched motives of the heroic novel and looked around them upon a world which was teeming with all sorts of interesting problems. All questions pertaining to the female sex—questions of education, instruction, love, marriage, motherhood, family life—were threshed out in novels, in which were depicted the woes and sufferings of women, making the reader shed tears over the fate of virtuous heroines.[43] Thus the Age of Emotionalism was ushered in, which, though offering many instances of ridiculous exaggeration and maudlin sentimentality, helped to ennoble the relationship between the sexes.[44]

[42] Strassburger, pp. 119-131.

[43] Gellert's *Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (1747), T. Hermes' *Miss Fanny Wilkes* and *Sophiens Reise nach Sachsen* (1769-1773), Sophie LaRoche's *Fräulein von Sternheim* (1771) are novels of this type.

[44] Ed. Otto, pp. 141-2.

No German poet so raised the dignity of woman nor contributed so much to a nobler conception and appreciation of womanhood as Klopstock. Johannes Scherr considers him the "rehabilitator of love," alleging that it was he who brought "tenderness, soulful enthusiasm and religious fervor" into the relationship of the sexes and sang in lofty tones of the divine in woman.[45] But, unfortunately, he carried his emotionalism and pathos to extremes, so that both he and his admirers of the Hainbund soon lost themselves in the ethereal spheres of cloudland.[46]

One cannot help feeling that this sort of sublimated conception of human relations, of love and friendship, could not produce a healthy and manly outlook on life's realities. Unconsciously German manhood, by surrending itself to a gushing and tearful sentimentality, was laying itself open to a degenerating and enervating effeminacy.[47]

It is in combatting this vicious tendency that Wieland played so great a part in German social and cultural history.

[45] Joh. Scherr, II, p. 268.
[46] Biedermann, II, 2, pp. 172-4.
[47] E. Engel: *Gesch. d. deutsch. Lit.* (Wien u. Leipzig, 1913), I, pp. 369-70.

CHAPTER II

WIELAND'S EARLY ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN

As a child of his age Wieland, like so many of his contemporaries, pondered a great deal on current philosophical problems, and went through much mortification of the soul before he found his way out of a motley chaos of ideas. "I meditated upon all the theories and conceptions of the philosophers," he says in his *Agathodämon* (1796), "but darkness enveloped my mind more and more. I resigned myself to the powers of imagination and soon came to know its magic delusions. I had moments when I felt without belief, when I believed without feeling, many when I had no use for either."[1]

The poet came of a strictly pietistic family which was distantly related to August Hermann Francke. First in the house of his father, and later in the pietistic institution at Klosterbergen, the young boy was subjected to a rigorous religious discipline and to pious exercises of devotion which estranged him from the world of reality and developed in him a tendency toward religious fanaticism and even something like devout ecstasy. "In this period," says Hettner, "Wieland lives and moves in the sweet melancholy spirit of Young, in the seraphic enthusiasm of Klopstock, and soon also in the gushing sentimentality of Richardson."[2]

It was but natural then that the youthful Wieland should glorify woman as an ethereal being, an embodiment of virtue

[1] "Ich durchforschte alle Meinungen und Systeme der Denker und es wurde immer dunkler um mich her. Ich überliess mich der Einbildungskraft und erkannte gar bald ihre magischen Täuschungen. Ich hatte Augenblicke, wo ich fühlte ohne zu glauben, wo ich glaubte ohne zu fühlen, unzählige, wo ich keines von beiden bedurfte." (H., XXIV, p. 241.)

[2] Hettner: *Lit. Gesch. d. xviii. Jhs.*, III, 2, p. 423.

and spiritual beauty, free from all earthly desires. His first love, that for Sophie Gutermann,[3] fell in his seventeenth year, and in all the poems which were inspired by this passion, the young poet apostrophizes her with such phrases as "angel on earth," "seraphic beauty," "heavenly vision," "guide to virtue," and similar Klopstockian epithets, which are repeated again and again in his glowing effusions:

"Englische Sophie, mein Herz, mein Licht,
Du bist selbst, ja Du bist selbst die Tugend;"

* * * * * * *

"Dich Sophie, gab der Himmel mir
Mich der Tugend liebreich heimzuführen."

* * * * * * *

Gott und Weisheit, Tugend und Sophie
Sind bei mir, welch Unfall kann mich schrecken.[4]

In the fourth book of *Die Natur der Dinge,* which was inspired by Sophie, he mourns bitterly that a corrupted world is robbing woman of the most beautiful gift that nature has bestowed upon her—the beauty of her soul. Too concerned about her external charms, she forgets about the immortal part of her "self." The poet is happy in the thought that his beloved,[5] at least, is different:

"O Doris! O wie werth bist du geliebt zu werden!
Wie gleicht dein edles Herz dem himmlischen Gesicht,
Das einen schönern Geist beym ersten Blick verspricht!
Dein Mund, den Suada neidt, ist nicht nur schön zum küssen;
Wie sanft, wie reizend schön, O wie harmonisch fliessen
Die Worte von ihm ab, worinn sich erst dein Geist
Und dein seraphisch Herz in seiner Grösse weist!"[6]

[3] J. G. Gruber, in his *Wielands Leben,* Goeschen, 1827, vol. I, chap. 3, discusses Wieland's first love affair in detail.

[4] P. A., I, 1, p. 4.

[5] From the Vorbericht of 1762 in P. A., I. 1, p. 128, as well as from letters to Schinz (Jul. 15th, 1752) in A. B., p. 104, and to Riedel (Dec. 15th, 1768) in D. B., p. 230, we gather that Doris and Sophie are the same person.

[6] P. A., I, 1, pp. 95-6, *Die Natur der Dinge.*

Love then means to him the glorious union of beautiful souls in perfect harmony, predestined for everlasting friendship.

". . . . . In deinen Armen, O Liebe!
Brachtest du sie mir lächelnd entgegen, die göttliche Doris
Blühend wie himmlische Auen, wie junge Seraphim zärtlich.
Liebe! du weist es, du sahst es! was für Bewegungen fassten
Unsre harmonische ewig zur Freundschaft gebildete Herzen,
Da sie zuerst sich sahn, und von gleicher Empfindung erhoben,
Mit umfassenden brünstigen Armen sich schwesterlich küssten,
Da sie auf sanft vereinigten Lippen zusammenflossen
Und sich ewig der Tugend und dir, O Liebe, gelobten." [7]

This was in 1750. At that time, "every woman," as he puts it nearly four decades later in *Peregrinus Proteus* (1788), "was in my eyes a sacred vessel in the temple of nature, the more sacred and the more inviolable, the more beautiful she was."[8] In fact, his whole attitude towards woman in this first period may be summed up in what he later says about Agathon's youthful ravings:

"Unconcerned whither my sentiments, in which my whole being was wrapped up, might finally lead me, I gave myself up to them with all the tenderheartedness of youthful innocence. To see my little Psyche, to love her, to tell her so, to hear from her beautiful lips, to read in her soulful eyes that my love was returned—those were the joys for which I yearned and beyond which I dreamed of no other. . . . I melted into tears . . . our love visibly grew greater and more beautiful, without our being aware that it was love. . . . We called it friendship and enjoyed its purest delights. . . . My eyes saw in Psyche no charming girl, but the loveliest of all souls, whose spiritual beauty shone through the transparent veil of an earthly robe; and my docile Psyche, who never was so happy as when I expounded to her the sublime mysteries of my poetic philosophy, believed that she heard the divine Orpheus or Apollo himself, when I spoke." [9]

In the year immediately following, Wieland's association with Bodmer and the pious circle in Zürich strengthened the

[7] P.A., I, 1, p. 134, *Lobgesang auf die Liebe.*
[8] H., XXI, p. 47. [9] *Ag.*, VII, p. 201-2.

fervid enthusiasm of his style when referring to the female sex, and he continued in the same ethereal strain, glorifying beautiful souls, virtue, platonic love, and friendship. In a letter to Mlle. Künzli (Zürich, Aug., 1757), he writes: " . . . It is quite certain that there is more tenderness in friendship than in the pleasant raving which we, to be sure, call love; and the natural reason for it is that the former is more love of the soul, the latter more that of the body."[10]

He broke with Sophie in 1753, but even before that other sources of inspiration appeared, for the most part ladies of a more advanced age,[11] by whom he was greatly admired and platonically loved:

> "Die Liebe durfte bei ihm auch in Gedanken nichts wagen
> Als höchstens einen exstatischen Kuss
> Auf seiner Göttin Hand." [12]

In a letter to Zimmermann, written toward the end of the Zürich period (Sept. 6th, 1758), Wieland refers to this relationship with the matrons in Zürich, saying: "*Theages* is like *Die Natur der Dinge,* the fruit of a very passionate and very platonic love which I had for a woman who was over forty years old. . . . I can assure you, I never loved any one more platonically than this woman. The ladies have always been the main source of my inspiration. Without three ladies whom I could name (Ohne drei gewisse Damen) I should

[10] L. Hirzel: *Wieland u. Martin u. Regula Künzli,* p. 162.

[11] The following are identified by L. Hirzel: The pious Frau Amtmann Grebel, for whom he wrote *Die Empfindungen eines Christen* (1755); the cultured and high-spirited Mme. Grebel, whom he celebrated as Arete-Eulalia in the *Sympathien* (1754) (A. B., II, p. 108, Brief an eine deutsche Fürstin, ohne Datum); and Regula Künzli, the sister of Martin Künzli. Besides these matrons, there were also younger girls, like Melissa Schultheiss and Elisabeth Meyer. The latter is celebrated as Cyana in the *Sympathien.* L. Hirzel: *Wieland und Martin und Regula Künzli,* p. 98.

[12] H., XVII, *Amadis,* I, lines 143-5; D. N. L., *Grazien,* p. 98.

never have written *Die Natur der Dinge, Die moralischen Briefe, Die Erzählungen, Sympathien, Theages, or even Empfindungen eines Christen.*[13]

But already in this period of religious fanaticism, Wieland's true nature begins gradually to assert itself. Here and there in practically all of his extravagant rhapsodies one cannot fail to notice also passages[14] which jovially voice a cheerful and amorous admiration of woman and her external attractions.[15]

In true anacreontic[16] fashion, his odes which follow the *Anti-Ovid* (1752), a poem on the Art of Love, written in opposition to *Ovid,* glorify kissing in the most glowing terms:

FIRST ODE

"Zärtliche Seele, wie war dir? da du in Doris Umarmung
Dich in Küssen verlorst? . . .
* * * * * * *
Ach wie klopfte mein Hertz,
Sanftgedrückt an dein himlisches Hertz! Wie starb nicht die Seele,
Ihren Freuden zu schwach,
In der sanften Ohnmacht dahin? Wie schwellten die Lippen
Sanft von Empfindungen auf?
Nein, kein andres Gefühl, nein, keine der innigsten Freuden,
Die ich jemals gefühlt,
Gleicht dir, himlischer Kuss!" [17]

[13] A. B., I, p. 285.

[14] P. A., I, 1, *Erzählungen,* pp. 344, 364, 410, 422; *ibid., Anti-Ovid,* p. 330.

[15] In this connection attention may be called to B. Seuffert's review of Ermatinger's *Die Weltanschauung des jungen Wieland.* Seuffert rightly disagrees with Ermatinger, who is inclined to attribute to the youthful Wieland "an ascetic mystic character." Seuffert maintains that the passages which reveal Wieland's ascetic side are for the most part counterbalanced by passages which voice a sensuous admiration of woman and her physical charms. (*Euphorion,* XV, pp. 155-160.)

[16] F. Budde in his *Wieland und Bodmer* points out that it was due to Wieland's desire to get into the graces of Bodmer and to receive an invitation to Zürich that he suppressed anacreontic tendencies. (F. Budde: *Wieland und Bodmer,* p. 20. Palæstra LXXXIX.)

[17] P.A., I, 1, pp. 333-334.

SIXTH ODE

Komm Doris! lass uns küssen,
Da alles scherzt und küsset,
Und die Natur empfindet.
Der Zephyr küsst die Rosen,
Der Bach die jungen Blumen
Und ich will Doris küssen.

* * * * * *

So trunken von Entzückung
Wallt nicht mein fühlend Hertz auf,
Wenn Milton Even singet,
Als wenn mich Doris küsset;
Ja seine Paradiese,
Die werden vor mich wüste,
Wenn ich in ihren Lauben
Nicht Doris küssen könnte.[18]

SEVENTH ODE

Kuss! bezaubernd süsse Wollust,
Freude, nur den Edlen fühlbar!
O wie soll ich dich beschreiben?

* * * * * *

Nein! ich will dich nicht beschreiben,
Im beschreiben fühl ich minder,
Nein, ich will dich nur empfinden.
Doris, ohne viel zu grübeln
Lass uns unersättlich küssen.[19]

B. Seuffert remarks therefore—and with good reason—that these occasional, realistic outpourings are more genuinely felt and more truly correspond to Wieland's inner nature than his theory of heavenly love and friendship.[20]

However, the causes which effected Wieland's gradual transition from his early religiosity and "Schwärmerei" were

[18] P. A., I, 1, pp. 336-337.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[20] *Euphorion*, XIV, p. 36, B. Seuffert: "Mitteilungen aus Wielands Jünglingsalter."

complex. They included his contact with the clear-thinking and refined Swiss physician, Johann Georg Zimmermann, his complete absorption in the study of classic antiquity, and his acquaintance with the philosophy of French and English[21] rationalism. His eyes now opened to a new world, which slowly made him realize that he was wasting his life away on empty and futile illusions.[22]

It was then during the last year of his stay in Zürich that he began to tire of his platonic friendships and yearned for a real and happy union with one woman. A letter to Zimmermann to this effect reveals the poet's frame of mind: "I know but one solution which, however, is beset with more moral difficulties than all others: a woman with a modest fortune who would be sufficiently lovable to render me happy and sufficiently generous to wish me to be so. But where shall we look for such a woman? She would have to be without parents; she would have to possess an individual type of mind . . . moreover, I dislike young girls extremely . . . The lady who is to make me happy will have to be about my own age, rather past thirty than under twenty."[23]

It almost seemed as if his wish were to be realized when in June, 1759, fate brought him to Berne. Here he met Julie Bondeli, one of the most cultured and most refined women of the time. She was the daughter of Diakonus Bondeli, and two years older than the poet, and, according to the general consensus of opinion, not at all good-looking.[24] Rousseau,

[21] A very important factor in Wieland's metamorphosis was his acquaintance with the philosophy of Shaftesbury (Cf. C. Elson: *Wieland and Shaftesbury,* Diss., New York, 1913.)

[22] For a detailed study of the influences that effected this gradual change, see Letters to Zimmermann, Nos. LXIV to LXVIII in A.B., I, pp. 257-277.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 339, Feb. 20th, 1759.

[24] J. G. Gruber: *Wielands Leben,* II, Goeschen, 1827, Note on p. 269.

who later became her intimate friend, said of her that she combined "la raison d'un homme et l'esprit d'une femme, la plume de Voltaire, le tête de Leibniz."[25] But though Julie was not destined to become Wieland's life companion, she had perhaps the deepest influence over his whole view of life. E. Bodemann in his *Julie von Bondeli* gives us an excellent account of this relationship between the poet and his friend, and sums up the tremendous educational influence which she exerted upon his spiritual development, as follows:

"While Wieland hurled smashing thunderbolts upon the earth and its joys and fled worldly things, perhaps because deep in his heart he felt himself drawn towards them . . . while formerly his poetry moved in the heights of a fantastic cloudland and he spoke a language hardly intelligible to common mortals, Julie tried to bring the poet down from these regions to the children of men and to make him employ the language of human beings; from the unnatural course of a meaningless and sanctimonious verbiage she led him back to the fresh naturalness of the poetry drawn from the experience of a rich life; from being an imitator of Klopstock she changed him into Klopstock's exact opposite, a poet of the Graces. But also Julie's eudaimonistic view of life permeates all of Wieland's philosophy. He begins to extol a life of cheer, ease and comfort, a philosophy of a beautified earthly existence. This, as well as a mocking at any kind of empty enthusiasm and idealization, at any kind of prudishness, sentimentality and sanctimoniousness, is from now on the keynote of his poetry."[26]

The first real symptoms of this metamorphosis in Wieland can be noticed in *Johanna Grey,* written in Zürich, in 1758. But the influence of Julie begins to assert itself in his *Araspes*

[25] Rousseau's letter to Hess of Oct. 12th, 1763, in Bodemann's *Julie von Bondeli,* p. 93.

[26] E. Bodemann: *Julie von Bondeli und ihr Freundekreis,* p. 59.

und Panthea, which he commenced to write in Zürich as an episode to *Cyrus,* but later reshaped into dialogue form[27] during the days of his passionate love for Julie Bondeli. E. Ermatinger in his very exhaustive and excellent study of the youthful Wieland's philosophy of life considers this work as the turning point to a new epoch of the poet's creative activity.[28] It opens the long series of works which reflects the poet's own struggle between the world of ideas and the world of the senses, during which he gradually descends from the ethereal heights of Klopstockian transcendentalism into the domain of reality.

In *Araspes und Panthea* love is no longer identical with virtue but with passion. "Woman is the most beautiful of all visible objects, all that can delight the eye and win the heart, all that is lovely and beautiful in nature is united in her. Her eye is fairer than the cloudless sky, the chaste blush of her cheeks more enchanting than the early spring . . . Where is the sage, where the hero who could withstand the softening power of her charms?"[29]

But the poet's "soul is no longer his own. Horrid phantoms and irrepressible desires rage within his bosom . . . and a furious struggle between passion and duty, love and reason, has rent his heart to pieces."[30] He does not wish to hear any more of those elusive ideas of seraphic affection, for experience has been his teacher and has shown him that man is not

[27] F. Muncker: *Wielands Werke,* Einleitung, p. 12. Also E. Ermatinger (Cf. Note 28), p. 151.

[28] Zwischen seinen Jugendwerken und den Schriften seiner Mannesjahre steht das Buch ein Grenzstein und Bindeglied zugleich. Der Kampf zwischen Sinnenglück und Seelenfrieden, zwischen irdischer und himmlischer Liebe war von Wieland noch in keinem früheren Werke mit solcher Kraft und Klarheit dargestellt worden." (E. Ermatinger: *Die Weltanschauung des jungen Wieland,* Frauenfeld, 1907, p. 155.)

[29] P.A., I, 3, p. 15.

[30] *Ibid.,* pp. 47-48.

made for ethereal love. Neither would woman be satisfied if some heavenly power changed man to a sylph, nor would man love woman if her soul, her virtue, and her manner were her only charm.[31]

"All that happened to you," says Cyrus, Araspes' royal friend, "was the natural consequence of the power of beauty and love. Formerly you knew love as a virtue, not as a passion. Experience alone could convince you that this most pleasant and most powerful of our instincts is not always in our control."[32]

It was his strong passion for Julie's powerful personality which made him suffer all the pangs of love and which he so warmly records in *Araspes und Panthea.* And, indeed, none among all his female acquaintances understood and appreciated Wieland's character better than Julie von Bondeli, otherwise she could never have remained his life-long friend in spite of the serious differences which sprang up between them later.[33] From what we noted above and from Wieland's letters to Zimmermann[34] we know that she was neither pretty nor in good health; but she was endowed with all the charms of a highly talented personality. She impressed the poet with her very mature and wholesome views of life, her calm and deliberate way of looking at things, her keen understanding and excellent judgment in matters pertaining to philosophy, art, and literature. It was through the very intimate friendship with Julie Bondeli that Wieland conceived an unbounded adoration for womankind and became the champion of woman's cause and rights to the end of his life.

[31] P. A., I, 3, p. 67.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[33] E. Bodemann: *Julie von Bondeli und ihr Freundekreis,* p. 208, letter 7.

[34] Cf. Note 24, p. 21, letters to Zimmermann, July 24, 1759 (A.B., II, p. 59), Aug. 24, 1759 (A.B., II, p. 86).

Wieland loved Julie and wished to marry her. "I love Julie," he writes to Zimmermann.[35] "She is, to be sure, not pretty at all, but she is everything that one should be in order to please. Seriously speaking, I do not think Julie has an idea or understanding of that love which is the subject of novels and tragedies. She wants to have friends only; she considers friendship as the most sensible and lasting love, and because she does not wish to be loved in any other way, she hates everything that bears the semblance of an exaggerated and extreme passion."

In going over the correspondence concerning Wieland's relationship with Julie, one cannot help feeling sorry that these two extraordinary people never entered into a union for life. Yet who can tell whether a purely intellectual woman of Julie's make-up would ever have been sufficient to bring about the happiness of a man of Wieland's sensuous type? This doubt and indeed the whole situation are aptly stated by B. v. Jacobi: "Julie war weder zu einer Hausfrau noch zur Geliebten geschaffen und Wieland brauchte zunächst einmal das starke sinnliche Erlebnis, dann aber für sein ganzes Leben eine Gefährtin, deren tiefster Wesenszug betreuende Mütterlichkeit war."[36]

An innocent flirtation at Biberach with Cateau v. Hillern, Sophie La Roche's married sister, and the unfortunate misunderstanding resulting from Wieland's too enthusiastic description and eulogies of his new friend in his letters to Julie caused the latter to break with her fiancé.[37] Bodemann is inclined to put all the blame for this rupture on Wieland alone. It would, however, be sufficient to read one of Julie's letters to Zimmermann, who tried very hard to bring the two together

[35] A.B., II, p. 100, *ohne datum.*
[36] B. v. Jacobi: *Wielands Werke,* I. Teil, p. XLV.
[37] E. Bodemann: *Julie v. Bondeli,* etc., pp. 63-66, 195.

again, in order to see that the break was also partly due to Julie's cold and indifferent attitude towards married life:

". . . Mais d'un autre côté vous croyez, que comme presque toutes les filles je ments, lorsque je dis, que je ne me soucie pas de me marier. Non, mon cher ami, je le dis, parceque je sens, que de la tête aux pieds je ne suis pas faite pour l'union conjugale. La quadrature du cercle, la découverte des longitudes, le grand œuvre même ne me paraissent pas une entreprise aussi effrayante que d'être la femme du meilleur des hommes. Je conçois tous les rapports de la société en général et en particular, mais je ne conçois pas, comme on vit avec un mari. Riez, riez, de mon ineptie, il ne me reste pas d'autre moyen de la justifier que de l'avouer humblement. . . ."[38]

It speaks well for Julie's character that in spite of her grievance against her former fiancé she indeed showed a clearer judgment as to Wieland's true character in his later development than the subsequent critics of this affair. She never lost her high regard for him and often came forward in his defence when criticism was most bitter against him. The passages from her letters which attest to this magnanimity also throw a strong light on Wieland's character at this time as viewed by a woman of experience and discernment. Thus we read in the letter to her friend Usteri, written on Sept. 2, 1761: ". . . l'événement a prouvé pour moi et cela m'encourage a prédire de nouveau qu'avant que d'avoir 40 ans il sera un excellent homme, il le sera, mais on ne le croira pas, parceque le public et mêmes les têtes philosophiques reviennent rarement des préjugés fondés dans un temps; . . . Sa grande franchise a achevé de le perdre. . . . On devrait lui tenir compte de ce caractère de vérité qui le suit jusque dans les choses, que les plus honnêtes gens aiment à cacher. . . ."[39]

[38] E. Bodemann, An Zimmermann, 3. Dec. 1762, p. 243.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335, letter 85.

And again in his unfortunate affair with Bibi,[40] which we had occasion to mention before, it was Julie who defended him in the midst of the storm of censure which broke upon him. In the letter above quoted she says further: ". . . Qu'a-t-il fait? Il a aimé non pas comme les Séraphins, mais comme les honnêtes gens de ce monde, sa passion a eu pour objet une fille sage et aimable, mais pauvre, catholique et par sa naissance inférieure à Wieland . . . il a commis des imprudences, mais des imprudences sont des fautes rélatives et non des vices absolus, les circonstances et les imprudences ont fait éclater ce qui aurait pu être caché avec de la mauvaise foi vis-à-vis de la fille, et de l'hypocrisie vis-à-vis du public; . . . Est-on sans moeurs parcequ'on aime et qu'on veut éspouser une fille honnête et aimable et qu'on ne croit point devoir l'abandonner, parcequ'elle a étée tendre quoique pauvre et d'une naissance médiocre? . . ."[41]

The strained relations between Julie and Wieland gave way to a renewed friendship through the efforts of their mutual friend, Zimmermann. They resumed their correspondence for a time, but the intervals between the individual letters became greater and greater until finally, in 1764, they ceased writing to each other.[42] Wieland had meanwhile found in the neighborhood of Biberach new friends whose influence meant a great deal in his spiritual development. It completed the change in his philosophy of life which had been so successfully furthered by his friendship with Zimmermann and Julie v. Bondeli.

[40] Cf. Introduction, p. xii.
[41] E. Bodemann: *Julie von Bondeli,* etc., p. 335, letter 85.
[42] *Ibid.,* p. 81.

CHAPTER III

WIELAND IN BIBERACH

Wieland was called to Biberach by his parents and friends in order to fill a vacant place in the civil administration of his native town. But the life which he led here was at first by no means very enviable. The uncertainty of his position because of the protest raised by the Catholic party against the appointment of a Protestant, the fanatical squabbles between the religious confessions of the community, the narrowmindedness and bigotry of his own co-religionists and the petty annoyances and jealousies to which he was continually subjected, nearly drove him to despair.

It was, therefore, fortunate for him that in the midst of these troubles he found a haven of refuge at castle Warthausen, whither the high-minded and cultured Count Stadion had withdrawn with his whole family and entourage after a long period of political activity. With the Count was also his capable secretary, La Roche, whose wife Sophie had been the poet's first sweetheart. Wieland saw himself all of a sudden transferred into a world of which he never dreamed before. He found a kind and welcome reception in a circle of refined men and women who were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of French culture of the age of Louis XV. As Gruber has well said, Wieland found at Warthausen: "religion without bigotry and superstition, philosophy without empty metaphysics . . . morality without sullen self-torture, virtue without misanthropy, enjoyment of life, fun and cheer free from all blemish, sensuousness that did not offend one's moral sensibilities,

and love which, though free from all platonic dreaming, made life happy."[1] Thus Wieland could report to his friend Zimmermann with great joy: ". . . Non sum qualis eram," assuring him at the same time that his true character was not in the least injured by this transformation: "Voilà bien du changement sans que ce qui constitue le vrai mérite d'un homme de bien en ait souffert la moindre altération."[2]

In addition to these congenial associations Wieland had also free access to Stadion's excellent library, of which he did not fail to make good use. Here he spent most of his free hours and entered thoroughly into the spirit of French and English literature and philosophy.[3]

So it was that before long the poet began to write for the benefit of his friends in that easy-flowing style of the French writers which was so much in vogue at that time. It suffices to mention Voltaire's *Pucelle* and Crébillon's *Les Egarements du cœur et de l'esprit* as specimens of this type of literature. But no matter how much such works as Wieland's *Komische Erzählungen* may have outraged the moral sense of the poet's puritan contemporaries, they had one common merit: the distinction of grace and style which convinced all the readers that the German language was just as capable of subtlety and refinement of expression as the French. "Many a German," says Jacobi, "may have been led back to German letters by way of the *Komische Erzählungen* and through the light piquancy of these tales become interested in the more serious works of German literature."[4]

There is no doubt that when Wieland stopped to compare his present mode of thinking with his former sentimental en-

[1] *Wieland geschildert von Gruber,* I, p. 132.
[2] A.B., II, p. 194.
[3] Gruber: *Wielands Leben,* III, p. 314ff.
[4] B. v. Jacobi: *Wielands Werke I, Lebensbild,* p. LII.

thusiasm he must have felt bitter shame and remorse for having wasted his time on empty illusions,[5] and it was probably the reaction due to this feeling of disgust with himself that carried him too far in the direction of the opposite extreme and often induced him to cross the border line of decency when he tried to impress his environment with the actual realities of life. This feeling of years wasted in the service of an illusory ideal of love must have begotten an attitude of something like resentment toward the women whom he had previously known and who had encouraged his platonic devotion. With such an attitude of mind on the one hand and the stimulus from the eager reading of French rationalists on the other, it is not strange that the poet's conception of woman and her relation to the world at large underwent a radical change.

In dealing with sex relations rationalism treated woman with a certain superior and satirical attitude, mocking continually at her weakness and fickleness.[6] This method appealed to Wieland, for he found in it the weapon with which he could successfully attack prudes and hypocrites, male as well as female, and expose them to ridicule and contempt. Later, in Weimar, he justified these gibes at women by referring to his relationship with the pious and bigoted Madame Grebel,[7] as follows: "When my eyes were opened later I became particularly infuriated against the sanctimonious prudishness and affected modesty of this woman and bitterly resented the torments which this tantalizing saintly person inflicted on me when I lived with her under the same roof. I am sure the experiences which I went through at that time influenced me largely in selecting for my poems rather voluptuous and tempt-

[5] See note 22 on p. 21; also D.B., I, p. 9, letter to Gessner.

[6] Touaillon: *Der deutsche Frauenroman d. 18, Jhs.,* Wien u. Leipzig, 1919, pp. 150 (Note 255), 435.

[7] Cf. Note 11 on p. 18.

ing themes, in painting them "con amore" (yet always with the best intention). I only wished to hurt certain Tartuffes and female hypocrites and heartily enjoyed the mere thought of watching their faces when they read about one or another rather suggestive picture. I know that I injured myself by it, but I surely never intended to tempt or to seduce anybody."[8] Thus we find in these writings types of women which are the very opposite of those he used to worship in his former years. It is a motley crowd of lighthearted, gay and sensuous ladies, hetairas, dancers, nymphs, and fairy princesses, who are in a continuous chase after love and pleasure, quite unrestrained when they wish to satisfy their desires.

The criticism of his contemporaries, like the members of the Göttinger Hainbund, he meets with the words of Itifall in his *Idris* (1776):

"Ich bin in euerm Sinn ein Majestätenschänder,
Weil mir ein Weib—ein Weib und keine Göttin scheint;
Vielleicht war eine Zeit, wo ich wie ihr gemeint;
Allein, ich sah seitdem viel Weiber und viel Läuder;
Und ohne Prahlerey, mein Freund,
Sie gaben mir zu unzweydeut'ge Pfänder
Von ihrer Fehlbarkeit, um jemahls vor Grimassen
Und grossen Wörtern mir den Muth vergehn zu lassen.

"Es wäre, däucht mich, unerträglich,
Wenn ich mir schmeichelte, sie könnten mir allein
Nicht widerstehn; man muss bescheiden seyn:
Drum schliess' ich so; Ich bin von Fleisch und Bein
Wie andre auch, was mir, ist jedem möglich;
Nun fand ich keine unbeweglich
Vom goldnen Throne bis zum Stalle.
Nicht Eine, jede wich, und also—weichen alle."[9]

The poet leaves no doubt, indeed, as to who are the targets of his sportive shafts of revenge. When reproached by Gess-

[8] Quoted by L. F. Ofterdinger: *C. M. Wielands Leben und Wirken in Schwaben und in der Schweiz*, p. 106, Heilbronn, 1877.
[9] P.A., I, 7, p. 40, *Idris*, I, Str. 89-90.

ner for the malicious remarks he made about women in his *Idris,* Wieland answers by saying: "What I said against the false prudes and some other commonplace female creatures, whose type is, for instance, represented by Princess Deanire, that I willingly admit; but if I have in any way offended the entire female sex, for which out of dutiful gratitude I profess the highest esteem, I beg of you, Lady Gessner, to kindly tell me so . . . for I repeat, in spite of my just resentment against the defects of certain female characters, there is no man in this world who loves and honors woman more than your obedient servant, the author."[10]

It would, indeed, be misunderstanding Wieland's purpose entirely if we were to assume that he took these works of his very seriously. In the preface to his *Der Neue Amadis* he says that the heroes of this poem are all fools and the heroines with one or two exceptions the most insipid creatures on earth.[11] He is just laughing and making fun of a silly world and in so doing he succeeds in telling the truth, "ridendo dicere verum."[12]

One must also not forget that aside from his desire of settling an old account with his former prudish friends by boldly flying in the face of the shallow unrealities which they cherished, Wieland was above all interested in bettering the precarious condition of the women of his time. These very poems and tales offered him also ample opportunity for criticizing and chastizing the stupidity and vanity of another type, the woman of the inane world of fashion who idled away her time in the boudoir, before the mirror and the dressing table, frequently exposing her charms to the glances of her lovers who were permitted to enter these sacred precincts.[13]

[10] D.B., p. 47, Biberach, Sept. 18, 1766.
[11] H., XVII, p. 7.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 19, I. Ges. Str. 18.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 57, VII. Gesang, Str. 2-3.

"Die schöne Colifichon, von sieben Nymphen umringt
(Ihr Muthwill' hätte leicht noch sieben mehr beschäftigt),
Steht nun bewaffnet da mit allem, was Herzen bezwingt.
Ihr Spiegel, vom lauten Entzücken der schlauen Zofen bekräftigt,
Verspricht ihr den glänzensten Sieg. Das goldene Glöckchen erklingt,
Und rauschend öffnen sich des Vorgezelts Flügel,
Als mit dem letzten Blick in den Spiegel
Die Dame noch etwas entdeckt. Ihr Götter! von Schrecken entseelt
Fliegt sie dem Putztisch zu. Was ist's? O Himmel, das Siegel
Von ihrem Triumph,—noch eine Mousche, fehlt." [14]

Der Neue Amadis, though its composition belongs to Erfurt, is perhaps the most characteristic work of this period, for it embodies almost everything that Wieland had to say concerning the emptiness of the life which a great many such women of the time were leading. The daughters of Schach Bambo, whose whims and caprices he pictures with the most refreshing humor and wit, are the true representatives of the frivolous type of woman the poet has in mind. He flings his sarcasm at their vanity,[15] and prudishness,[16] their talkativeness,[17] and inquisitiveness,[18] their propensity to gossip and slander.

" . . . Princessin Colifichon,
Die gerne schwatzte, begann die fünf geliebten Schwestern
Mit allem Witz von der Welt sehr liebreich zu verlästern." [19]

In the amusing and humorous characterization of her sisters by Princess Colifichon,[20] the poet pictures these women as without any serious thought or deep feeling. Their sole purpose in life seems to be to entangle men in their snares and then make them suffer.[21]

[14] H., XVII, p. 23, II. Ges., Str. 4.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 62, VI. Ges., Str. 22, also cf. note 3.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 60, VI. Ges., Str. 12.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 18, I. Ges., Str. 18; also p. 29, II. Ges., Str. 30.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 24, II. Ges., Str. 10.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 59, VI. Ges., Str. 10.
[20] *Ibid.*, VI. Ges., Str. 10-22.
[21] *Ibid.*, VI. Ges., Str. 11-13.

". . . Das Fräulein, ohne dass es schien,
Gab sich die aüsserste Mühe, den Vogel ins Garn zu ziehn;
Und er, so übel ihm seine Versuche gelungen,
Fand endlich in ihren Blicken sich wider Willen verschlungen." [22]

Amadis, a knight, having been wounded in chivalrous service, is happy to be nursed by Princess Dindonette, in whom he imagines he has found the ideal of his quest. Suddenly some one brings the news that her pet squirrel, Puck, has escaped. Immediately she forgets the sick knight and runs off calling in desperate excitement:

". . . So renne! ruf' Alles zusammen! biete
Fünfhundert Bambos und tausend, mir ist kein Preis zu gross,
Dem Wiederbringer!—Sie glauben nicht, was ich verliere,
Herr Ritter!—Mein armer Puck!—Verzeihen Sie!—Glück zur Cur!—
Ich muss ihm nach!—Und ohne Weiters fuhr
Mit einem tiefen Knicks mein Fräulein aus der Thüre." [23]

The poet vents his anger particularly on those "unrelenting prudes," to whom he metes out their due punishment. Leoparde in *Amadis* loses her lover to her sister Olinde;[24] Kleonissa in *Agathon* burns with an illicit desire for the hero,[25] and Doña Murcia in *Don Silvio,* a matron of sixty, who all her life professed an invincible dislike for men, easily overcomes her aversion when a bachelor of forty considers her a good match because of her fortune.[26]

In these tales and poems it is not woman alone who is the butt of his irony and sarcasm. In fact he blames all of woman's weakness and shortcomings on the levity and injustice of the other sex:

". . . Verwegen, übermüthig,
Leichtsinnig, flatterhaft, undankbar, ungerecht,
Dies wären im Grunde vielmehr Grundzüge von seinem Geschlecht." [27]

[22] H., XVII, VI. Ges., Str. 3.
[23] *Ibid.*, II. Ges., Str. 45.
[24] *Ibid.*, XVII. Ges., Str. 36.
[25] Ag. XII, 4. and 5. Kapitel.
[26] H., XIV, pp. 46-47.
[27] H., XVII, p. 152; *Amadis,* XV. Ges., Str. 40.

He finds particular fault with man's fickleness and inconstancy and arraigns him for it severely:

"Man kennt euch andere schon: es fällt euch gar nicht schwer
Für jede, die euch ungefähr
In Gährung setzt, (. . .)
Ganz in Entzückungen und Flammen zu zerrinnen;
Ihr glaubt wohl selbst ihr liebt, solang das Fieber schäumt;
Den andern Tag ist's euch ihr habt geträumt." [28]

A similar sentiment is found later in *Clelia und Sinnibald* (1783):

"Wohl hat die Tante Recht! So sind die Ungeheuer,
Die Männer, insgesammt! Ein Blick setzt sie in Feuer,
Doch, aus den Augen, aus dem Sinn!" [29]

No matter how strong a man's affection may be for his sweetheart, he will never let slip an opportunity for a flirtation with another woman.

"Ich kenne ein Wenig der Männer Art;
Bei Euch tut Alles die Gegenwart.
Weh der abwesenden Geliebten!
Die möcht' ich sehen, die aus Treu'
Die Grausamkeit an sich verübten
Und liessen ein gutes Glück vorbei!" [30]

In their dealings with women men are extremely presuming. Thus, in *Don Sylvio de Rosalva,* the nymph who saves Prince Bibrinker from drowning reproaches him for his arrogant obstrusiveness: "I say, what an impertinent lot these men are! One dare not show them the least little courtesy without being exposed to their insolent comments on it. A mere act of generosity or charity on our part means to them an encouragement by which they believe themselves entitled to take liberties with us. What, because I was kind enough to save your life . . . do you think perhaps . . ."?[31]

[28] P.A., I, 7, p. 120; *Idris und Zenide,* IV. Ges., Str. 60.
[29] H., XII, p. 141.
[30] In *Gandalin* (1776), H., IV, p. 161.
[31] H., XV, p. 101.

Danae, the heroine in *Agathon,* criticizes the stupidity of insipid young dandies who persecute innocent girls with their love. "They talk the language of sentiment but feel nothing. While they try to impress one with the tortures and sufferings they go through, their heart is not even scratched as much as with the point of a needle. They are not capable of loving anybody but themselves. Every glance which they bestow on us tells us that we are only toys for them and half of our charms are lost on them, because they have no souls themselves to understand the beauty of a soul."[32]

Nor are men even honorably discreet in their relations with women. First they employ all possible means to seduce them and then vociferously boast of their conquests:

"Allein auch hier entdeckt sich die ganze Bizarrerie
Von unserm Betragen. Tyrannisch machen wir sie,
Anstatt zum Gegenstand, zum Opfer von unserm Vergnügen;
Und wenn wir alles gethan, die Macht zum Widerstehn
Den armen Seelen zu nehmen, die, während wir weinen und flehn
Und schmeichelnden Hündchen gleich zu ihren Füssen uns schmiegen,
Sich keines solchen Streichs versehn,
Und glücklich zu machen glauben und wirklich unser Vergnügen
Mehr als ihr eignes geniessen: dann heben wir unsern Kamm
Und prahlen mit Siegen, wie über das harmlose Lamm
Der Wolf erhält. . . .

* * * * * * *

Dann sind wir noch ruchlos genug der armen Betrognen zu lachen,
Die Qual betrogen zu sein noch anzufachen
Und unsern unrühmlichen Sieg dem ganzen Erdenkreis
Mit lautem Krähen kund zu machen."[33]

It is then a world of clowns, coquettes, and prudes which Wieland tries to ridicule cynically, a world of debauch, in which the characters often overstep the boundaries of ordinary

[32] Ag., IV, p. 108.
[33] H., XVII, p. 134; *Amadis,* XIV, Str. 3-4.

decency. Nevertheless, the reader cannot help noticing that these bacchantic extravagances are not meant to be the soul of the author's poetic creations. They merely twine around the central idea as the wild growing vine around a beautiful tree.

In this period falls one of the most important events in Wieland's life—his marriage to Dorothea Hillenbrandt in 1765. Disillusioned by the many sad experiences which he had when trying to find a mate by his own efforts, he finally gave up in despair and allowed his parents and friends to make the choice for him.[34] To all appearances this was a real "Konvenienzehe," nevertheless it turned out to be one of the happiest unions of the time, for the poet found in his wife the very ideal of womanhood which his philosophy was gradually evolving and which Theano, one of his "Pythagoräische Frauen" stated tersely by quoting the Homeric verse: "Fleissig die Spindel drehend und meines Ehebettes wartend."[35]

It was this connubial bliss and happy home life which had a sobering effect on his work. He slowly abandoned the tendency towards extreme sensuousness which characterized the *Komische Erzählungen* and contrasted it with the bliss that springs from a faithful true love. Thus in *Idris* the genuine and sincere affection of two beings (Lila and Zerbin), who cling to one another through all trials of fate, stands out above all the illicit amours and wins at the end:

> "Nach tausendfacher Noth und einem Prüfungsstand,
> Worin wir Jahre lang mehr Ungemach erfahren,
> Als Psyche mit den goldnen Haaren,
> Nachden ihr Vorwitz sie aus Amors Arm verbannt,
> Hat uns der Liebesgott, dem wir geweihet waren,
> Ein lächelnd Antlitz zugewandt;
> Und würdigt, zum Ersatz der Qual die wir erlitten
> Mit aller seiner Gunst uns nun zu überschütten."[36]

[34] D.B., p. 25, Letter to Gessner, Nov. 7, 1765.
[35] H., XXV, p. 242.
[36] P.A., I, 7, p. 49; *Idris und Zenide,* II, Str. 19.

Similarly in *Der neue Amadis* spiritual beauty triumphs over bodily charm. The poet contrasts here the pretty but silly five daughters of the king with the sixth princess, Olinde, who, though possessing no external attractions, distinguishes herself by superior qualities of the intellect and soul. She, too, had once been beautiful, but alas! her extreme vanity and pride became the cause of her undoing. To punish her a magician deprived her of her beauty and transformed her into an ugly woman, effecting at the same time the cure from her vices. Now her inner charm and grace are sufficient to attract the hero, who after numerous adventures with beautiful women at last finds the ideal of his heart in her soulful features[37] and comes to realize that his former life had only been a delusion:

"Ich glaubte schon oft zu lieben, doch war's nur Traum und Wahn;
Betrug der Phantasie, der Sinne war's!—Olinde,
Erst seit ich Dich und Alles in Dir vereiniget finde,
Was Seelen fesseln kann, erfahr'ich, wie übel ich mich
Vorhergeirrt. Ich kannte die seligen Triebe
Der wahren Liebe nie! Dich lieb' ich, Beste, Dich,
Zum ersten Mal und, o! mit welcher Liebe!

". . . O, glaub' es, Olinde, Du bist,
Wenn auch die ganze Welt für einen Thoren mich hielte,
Unendlich schöner für mein Herz
Als meinen Augen die Puppen, womit ich ehmals spielte." [38]

Practically all of Wieland's works which fall within the period between his marriage and his call to Weimar have erotic descriptions and love affairs as their main themes; nevertheless, whatever may be their moral defects, they are never immoral in their ultimate aim.[39] From the extreme sensuousness, the "heitere Sinnlichkeit" of the *Komische Erzählungen*,

[37] H., XVII, p. 170, Ges. 18, Str. 5.
[38] *Ibid.*, Ges. 17, Str. 22-23.
[39] Goethe speaks of Wieland's sensuousness as "sittliche Sinnlichkeit" (Goethe: "Zum brüderlichen Andenken Wielands," Weimar edition, v. 36, p. 314).

the poet passes to a "gemässigte Sinnlichkeit" in *Musarion* until he finally reaches a middle ground during the Weimar period. He then rejects both extremes, the sensual and the platonic, and his mouthpiece Archytas in the third edition of *Agathon* (1795) advocates a harmonious and rational cultivation of both sides of human nature.[40]

And in this connection Wieland does not fail to give expression to his admiration for woman and to his belief in her true mission. It is a woman whose love, sympathy and perfect understanding of the human heart teach man the true meaning of life. The serene and happy Musarion transforms Phanias from a mope and fanatic dreamer into a man of flesh and blood:

> ". . . Sein Mentor war
> Kein runzliger Kleanth, der, wenn die Flasche blinkt,
> Wie Zeno spricht und wie Silenus trinkt:
> Die Liebe war's— Wer lehrt so gut wie sie?"[41]

In his preface to the poem which is dedicated to Weisse in Leipzig, the poet confesses that Musarion's philosophy, her attitude of mind, her taste and mood, are those according to which he shapes his own existence. Her sympathetic way of looking at things, her perfect poise between enthusiasm and indifference, the jesting pleasantry with which she is able to distinguish between the true on the one hand and fantastic and improper exaggerations on the other, her Socratic irony, as well as her indulgence towards the imperfections of human nature . . . "alle diese Züge sind die Lineamente meines eigenen Geistes und Herzens."[42]

Similarly in the *Grazien,* Wieland attributes to the beneficial and refining influences of female charm the development of

[40] *Ag.,* Buch XVI, p. 253.
[41] P.A., I, 7, p. 204, *Musarion.*
[42] *Ibid.,* I, 7, pp. 157-158.

the human race from its primitive condition of rudeness and coarse animalism to the present state of refinement and a nobler love instinct.[43] The "Grazien" for Wieland are but a symbolic name for those exhilarating influences exerted by a human being who radiates cheerfulness, charm, beauty and tenderness of heart.[44] He imagines the "Grazien" to have been created with the aid of Cupid out of the naïve simplicity of innocent young girls, and he considers them as the goddesses of morality.[45] The "Grazien" gradually spread their beneficial influence among men, extending it not only to all realms of their activity, but even to virtue itself: "Nur unter den Händen der Grazien verliert die Weisheit und die Tugend der Sterblichen das Übertriebene und Aufgedunsene, das Herbe, Steife, Eckige, welches ebenso viele Fehler sind, wodurch sie nach dem moralischen Schönheitsmass der Weisen aufhört Weisheit und Tugend zu sein."[46]

In 1769 we find Wieland as professor of philosophy in Erfurt. But the new environment does not at all suit his taste; he misses particularly the congenial female elements with which he had been accustomed to associate at Warthausen. In the character of the Erfurt women he recognized the very personification of the silly and insipid types which he had satirized in *Der Neue Amadis.* Thus, in April, 1770, he writes to Sophie La Roche; ". . . Vous seriés bien ébahie, si vous verriés et entendriés pour la première fois des femmes qui passent ici pour femmes du bon ton et de la bonne société.

[43] D.N.L., v. 51, pp. 93-106. *Grazien,* Buch 4.

[44] P. A., I, 2, p. 271, *Gespräch des Sokrates und der Timoklea.* In a letter to Sophie (without date, probably 1769), he speaks of woman's charms as being "those of virtue and of that divine feeling which contains all that ennobles and elevates human nature, that inspires us to beautiful deeds and causes us to turn away in horror from everything that degrades the dignity of our existence." (D.B., I, p. 128.)

[45] Gruber, v. 51, p. 436.

[46] D.N.L., Vol. 51, p. 114, *Grazien.*

Pour vous en former quelque faible idée, figurez vous, ma chère Amie, que la plus sotte et la plus impertinente des filles de Bambo (s'il vous en souvient encore) est un ange d'esprit et de discretion vis à vis de certaines dames de ma connoissance d'ici . . . Car à savoir faisons par ces presentes que nous n'avons pas encor vû içi ni femme ni fille ni veuve qui, en la voyant et en lui parlant, ait (fait) assés d'impressions soit sur notre esprit, soit sur notre coeur, soit sur notre goût ou sur nos yeux au moins, pour vous donner l'envie d'aller à trente pas pour la voir una altra volta,[47] . . .

However, he was soon to be transferred into a circle of men and women which appealed more to his intellectual needs than Erfurt society. A new work of a serious character, dealing with the privileges and duties of both the ruling and the subject classes was to mark the most important turning point in his poetic career: *Der Goldene Spiegel* was to a large extent responsible for the fact that Duchess Anna Amalia considered him the most suitable tutor for her son Karl August, the future ruler of Weimar. Thus the poet comes in contact with the entourage of a princess whom he describes as "one of the most amiable and most excellent mixtures of humanity, womanhood, and nobility that ever trod this earth." [48]

[47] *Neue Briefe C. M. Wielands,* herausgeg. von R. v. Hassencamp, p. 188.

[48] *Euph.*, I, p. 695, B. Seuffert: "Wielands höfische Dichtungen."

CHAPTER IV

WIELAND IN WEIMAR

It was fortunate for the spiritual development of Wieland that he came to Weimar, the "Athens of Germany." Under the influence of an environment which breathed the noble atmosphere of classic idealism and which was soon to become the meeting ground for the foremost representatives of German genius, our poet necessarily got rid of all the rough corners that might have stuck to his character from the period of his epicurean hedonism.

He no longer indulges so frequently in painting sensuous and erotic pictures, but whenever he does, these scenes become only what Seuffert designates as "luring ornamentations for the purpose of charming the eyes of fastidious courtiers, so that they might also direct their attention towards the framework of the solid structure."[1]

From now on he sees to it with almost meticulous pains that the works of his pen do not offend any ethical principle or moral demand. For this reason he adds the "Confessions of Danae" to *Agathon,* which gives the novel a decidedly moral purpose.[2] The poet's new bent towards a stricter and sterner point of view is also noticeable in the diverse treatment of the same motive in a poem of the Weimar period and one written

[1] *Vierteljahrschrift* I, 1888, p. 356, B. Seuffert: "Wielands Berufung nach Weimar."

[2] Loebell, p. 23.

in Biberach. In both these works Wieland attempts to prove that genuine love applies not only to the external appearance but to the entire being of the beloved person. In *Aurora und Cephalus* (1765) Prokris yields to her passion for Seladon; in *Gandalin* (1776), however, the hero triumphs over his passion.[3]

Similarly there is also a very marked change of conception with regard to the passive heroism of his female characters in the few rather weak dramatic attempts of the Weimar period, as compared with those of his youth. In all of his later dramas[4] he makes woman the central figure and demonstrates to what extent she can carry her heroism and suffering for an ideal or for a beloved person. But the two dramas of the earlier period, *Lady Johanna Gray* (1758) and *Clementina von Porreta* (1760), represent the poet's intense feeling of piety coupled with religious resignation. The heroines suffer for their faith and resign themselves to their fate. Johanna dies, although she could have saved her life by joining the Catholic church; Clementina gives up her lover and withdraws into a cloister.

In the "Singspiele" of the Weimar period the religious motive is abandoned entirely and the devotion and self-sacrifice are now applied to a beloved person. In *Alceste* (1773) fate destined that King Admet should die unless somebody were willing to give up his life in his stead. No person, not even the aged father, is willing to be the victim; but the King's heroic wife, Alceste, does not hesitate a moment to sacrifice herself for her beloved husband. Likewise in *Rosemunde* (1778) the heroine dies in pure innocence for the sake of the man she loves. Here the problem of love and duty is presented with a touch of modern realism. The motivation and

[3] Rudolf Germann: *"Wielands Gandalin,"* Diss., Leipzig, 1914, p. 11.

[4] A very excellent discussion of these dramatic attempts is furnished by E. Stilgebauer: "Wieland als Dramatiker," in the *Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* N.F., 10.

justification of Rosemunde's relationship to the King is so striking and clever that one feels more sympathy for her than for the King's legitimate wife. Neither the devout enthusiasm of his youthful period nor the frivolity of the Biberach time is to be found in Rosemunde's character. She is a woman of flesh and blood to whom the happiness of her lover means more than that which she is to expect in the beyond. After learning of the King's marriage to Elinor she resolves like Clementina Porretta to go into a convent. Yet the entreaties of her lover to remain with him are sufficient to make her change her decision and when she has to pay the penalty of her guilt she is happy in the thought of dying for the man she loves:

"Wohl mir! ich fall ein reines Opfer—und
(O gönne mir, Du, der für ihn zu leben
Mir nicht erlaubt, O Himmel, gönne mir
Den süssen Trost!)—ich sterb' um seinetwillen." [5]

A still stronger expression of the self-sacrifice of woman for the object of her affection is to be found in the very beautiful lines of the nun, Serafina,[6] whose contrite soul is being torn between her passion for the monk and the realization of her sin. If her love, she exclaims, is wanton and wicked, let Heaven send upon her all the tortures and sufferings of Hell but never demand of her to renounce the man she loves:

"Ist dieser einz'ge Wunsch der Liebe,
Ach, ist er frevelhaft,
So lass, erzürnter Himmel, lass mich leiden
Alles leiden, was ein liebend Herz
Jenseits des Grabes noch zu leiden fähig ist,
Ich unterwerfe mich, ich will es leiden
Nur, dass ich meiner Liebe untreu werde,
Dies fordre nicht.

[5] H., XXIX, 120, Act II, Scene 10.

[6] *Serafina* is a cantata which Wieland adapted from his poem, "Der Mönch und die Nonne" (1775), at the request of Duchess Amalia. *Deutscher Merkur* (1775, 2, p. 102, Note).

"Verzeyh, verzeyh den allmächt'gen Trieben
Der triumphierenden Natur,
Ihn lieben muss mein Herz,
Ihn ewig lieben,
Ach ohne deine Liebe wär'
Ein Himmel selbst kein Himmel mehr!
Kein Fegfeu'r schrecket mich, steigst du mit mir hinab.
Und schlügen alle seine Flammen
Verdoppelt über mir zusammen
Dein Athem weht sie kühlend ab." [7]

Through his daily contact with the women of the Weimar environment the love and admiration for the eternal feminine which Wieland had harbored within since his earliest youth received a new impulse and caused him to regret bitterly his former aberrations and to express frequently his sorrow for his frivolous attitude towards woman during the years when he was a member of the Warthausen circle.[8]

In a letter to Caroline Herder (No date—either 1782 or 1783) he begs her to prevail upon her husband, to whose genius nothing seems impossible, to coin a new word for the kind of love and admiration he (Wieland) feels in the presence of such women as the Duchess Anna Amalia. It is a love comparable only to the worship felt by a devout Catholic when he approaches the Virgin Mary and addresses her with "Salve regina" or "Eya mater fons amoris."[9]

When the duchess asked him once "si une femme puisse avoir l'âme forte?" he answered that although strength of character may not be considered part of women's virtues, he was convinced that even the most tenderhearted and gentle

[7] *Deutscher Merkur,* 1775, 2, p. 109.

[8] The editor of the *Lit. Almanach* reports that Wieland was himself highly dissatisfied with some of his literary productions and wished that he could destroy them. He also heard from Wieland personally that he could never be kindly disposed toward the man who would dare to republish *Juno und Ganymedes.* (*Liter. Almanach,* 1830, pp. 244-245.)

[9] A.B., III, 348-349, *ohne datum.*

woman with a sufficient amount of reason and "bon esprit" could without question acquire this strength; that in fact she was even fitted for it by nature. However, he wished "que la force de l'âme chez une femme soit l'effet d'une application particulière a se prévaloir de la raison contre la sensibilité; . . . que la dernière n'y perdît que ce qui pourroit être de trop et que la femme n'en fût ni moins aimable ni moins pourvue de ces graces qui appartiennent à son sexe . . . [10]

Wieland strongly opposed the opinion that woman was essentially different from man with regard to her intellectual qualifications,[11] but he believed that nature had endowed her with certain specific characteristics, peculiar only to the female sex and these he would never like to see her lose.[12] What he meant by these characteristics he did not definitely state, but one can easily infer them from his writings. Thus for instance, in "Der Traum des Prometheus," Prometheus describes how he formed man and woman:

> "Ich milderte durch das sanfte Wesen und die rührende Grazie des Weibes eine gewisse Wildheit, welche den Männern unentbehrlich war, damit sie im Nothfall die Beschützer der Gegenstände ihrer süssesten Regungen seyn könnten.
>
> "Die Gewalt ihrer Reitze zu verdoppeln, gab ich dem Weibe die Scham, die holdseligste der Grazien, das anziehende Weigern, das sanfte Sträuben, welches den Werth jeder Gunst erhöht; die süssen Thränen, deren wollüstiges Ergiessen das von Empfindung gepresste Herz leichter macht. Ich tauchte gleichsam ihr ganzes Wesen in Liebe, und machte, dass sie ihre höchste Glückseligkeit darein setze, geliebt zu werden und Liebe einzuflössen." [13]

Sophie La Roche, with whom he frequently discussed these matters personally as well as by letter, analyzed this attitude

[10] *Vierteljahrschrift,* I, 1888, p. 367, B. Seuffert: "Wielands Berufung nach Weimar."
[11] H., XXXV, p. 233.
[12] Cf. note 10 on p. 46 and 14 on p. 47.
[13] P. A., I, 7, p. 409.

of Wieland in her novel, *Fräulein von Sternheim.* Here she makes the heroine characterize her friend as follows: "He never allowed me to adopt a masculine note either in speaking or in writing. He maintained, it was very poor taste to eulogize masculine qualities in women. To be sure, we had a right to all virtues the same as men and were entitled to demand the privileges and means which promoted these moral faculties, but he insisted that in exercising these virtues woman must preserve the stamp of her sex."[14]

In Weimar Wieland came to look upon woman without exaggerated notions either as to her perfection or as to her failings. Certain of her shortcomings which he derided so maliciously in Biberach he now considers as part of her nature, as something that only serves to enhance her charm and attractiveness. Menander, for instance, in *Menander und Glycerion,* who is first outraged by woman's whims and vanity, becomes reconciled to them as he grows older and wiser and concludes that, after all, without these defects woman would not be half as enchanting as she is. He therefore advises his fellow men to take women as they are and not to spoil their joy and happiness by too exorbitant and selfish demands:

"Verkümmern wir uns also nicht selbst durch eigensinnige und überspannte Forderungen die Freude, die wir an ihnen haben könnten, wenn wir sie nähmen wie sie sind! Ueberlassen wir uns den süssen Täuschungen, solange sie uns täuschen können, und beschleunigen nicht selbst den leidigen Augenblick der Entzauberung, der immer zu früh kommt, wie spät er auch kommen mag." [15]

On the other hand, though his attitude towards woman has changed, Wieland continues to upbraid men,—as he did during the Biberach period,[16]—for their ill manners, their rudeness

[14] *Sophie von La Roche, die Freundin Wielands,* von Ludmilla Assing, Berlin, 1859, p. 116.

[15] *Menander u. Glycerion,* Cotta, III, p. 195.

[16] Cf. chap. III, pp. 34-36.

and levity in all their dealings with women. To Glycerion's mind men are all alike in this regard: "Unbeständigkeit und Untreue ist etwas worauf du rechnen musst, sobald du der Liebe eines Mannes Gehör gibst. In diesem Stücke sind sie einander ähnlich."[17] The old woman in *Danischmend* has no very high opinion of men either. She had lived with four of them and had learned enough to come to the conclusion that one is as good or as bad as another. It may be true that women cannot get along without men, but they surely must not let them suspect it. If women were clever they could always get the advantage over their husbands, for they can less get along without women than women without men.[18]

In the *Göttergespräche* (1789-1793) Livia says that men with hardly any exception are an uncouth, rough and rude sort. Without some ingenuity even a goddess would find it difficult to live with an ordinary mortal and feel tolerably contented.[19] A great deal is being said about the vanity of women and yet that of men is by far worse. Man's conceit seems to be of a much tougher and more obstinate nature, for it takes a man a very long time to convince himself that he is displeasing or that he is not wanted.[20] From the nature of these utterances one is almost inclined to believe that Wieland shows a decided bias in favor of woman whenever he has an opportunity to weigh the relative merits of the sexes.

He expects man to be chivalrous, kind and discreet[21] in all his relations with woman and to protect her good name whenever the occasion arises.[22] He condemns those meddlers who have nothing else to do but poke their noses in the love affairs

[17] *Menander u. Glycerion,* Cotta, III, p. 206; cf. also H., XXX, p. 243.
[18] P. A., I, 10, p. 403.
[19] H., IX, p. 34.
[20] H., XXX, p. 190-191.
[21] H., XII, p. 149.
[22] Cf. note 29 on p. 49.

of others and then spread them abroad. Diogenes, in his "Republic," wants to have such busybodies and mischief makers, who often cause the ruin of families or whole communities, punished by exposure on the high seas.[23] Wieland deplores also in mankind two very hideous vices which are the source of a great many wrongs: one, the propensity to slander and defame the character of excellent people; the other, the inclination to give credence to such calumny and backbiting.[24]

It is for this reason that he takes up the gauntlet for a number of women in history who, he thinks, were unjustly judged and maligned. Thus he writes his vindication of Aspasia,[25] Faustina the younger,[26] Xantippe,[27] Julia the daughter of Augustus,[28] and a number of apologies for women of modern times, of which the most interesting one is "Die Rechtfertigung der berühmten Frau v. Maintenon." At the end of this apology Wieland states the motive which prompted his defence of Mme. de Maintenon as follows: "Verzeihen Sie, meine Freunde, dass ich mich durch diese Rechtfertigung der Frau v. Maintenon der ritterlichen Pflicht die Ehre der Frauen und Jungfrauen zu beschützen zu entledigen gesucht habe."[29]

With these facts before us it is almost incomprehensible why Pröhle accuses Wieland of a grave injustice against womanhood.[30] Pröhle's reason for this accusation is that Wieland treated men in his writings as virtuous heroes who were continually led into temptation by women. But in doing this Wieland had, in our opinion, paid woman a compliment

[23] P. A., I, 7, p. 306, *Nachlass des Diogenes v. Sinope* (1770).
[24] *Hist. Cal. für Damen,* 1790, H., XXXVII, p. 256.
[25] *Ibid.,* pp. 48-64.
[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 555-560.
[27] *Ibid.,* pp. 65-67.
[28] *Ibid.,* pp. 536-547.
[29] *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde,* N. F., iv, 2, p. 314.
[30] H. Pröhle: *Lessing, Wieland, Heinse,* Berlin, 1877, p. 79.

rather than did her an injustice. We know Wieland's theme was always to cure the fanatical enthusiast by bringing him into contact with life, and these very women, like Danae or Musarion, in whom Pröhle sees the temptress were the ones who had the sobering influence upon the heroes so that the latter really became better men and more useful members of society.[31]

That he chose this Danäe type of woman for his heroines may also be justified by the fact that he preferred the refined and cultured Greek hetaira, who was a woman of flesh and blood, to the wishy-washy type of heroine whom we meet in the sentimental novels of his age.[32]

Paul Groschwald in his *Das Bild des klassischen Altertums in Wielands Agathon,* basing his deductions on Müller's *Die Griechischen Privatataltertümer,* points out that the Greek married woman was entirely confined to the duties of her household and therefore paid very little attention to her intellectual development. There was hardly any social intercourse between the sexes in the Greek family. Men looked for their diversion outside of the house in the company of the hetairas, who besides their external charms, possessed also an unusual amount of refinement and culture. Wieland in trying to present his hero in a Greek garb could not well choose a Greek woman of the domestic type, for she was intellectually incapable of exerting any influence on the cultural development of his hero. To preserve the Greek atmosphere as far as was possible, he had to bring his heroes in contact with the hetairas.[33]

[31] P. A., I, 7, pp. 203-205, *Musarion,* 3. Buch; also *Ag.,* XVI, 4. Kapitel.

[32] The Richardsonian type of heroine which was in vogue in the age of sentimentalism. (Cf. Gellert's *Schwedische Gräfin.*)

[33] Paul Groschwald: *Das Bild des classischen Altertums in Wielands Agathon,* pp. 38-42.

Besides, Wieland was so far ahead of his time that he did not hesitate to accord a sympathetic treatment to characters who were by nature good, but who by force of circumstances had gone wrong for a while. Danae, to be sure, was a hetaira, but whose fault was it? Man's, of course. In Alcibiades he pictures the unscrupulous wretch of his own time who brought innocent young girls to ruin.[34] But when Danae comes in contact with a wholesome influence, her true character asserts itself and she atones for her past life through resignation and voluntary renunciation of all earthly happiness.[35] It is for this reason that Wieland classes this type of woman as a "beautiful soul." "For," he maintains, "a beautiful soul may go astray, may be deceived by false visions, but it can never cease to be a beautiful soul."[36]

From the fact, however, that Wieland selected hetairas for his heroines and pictured their charms and perfections, it does not follow that they were his ideal of womanhood.[37] He expects young men to find their friends among cultured women no matter to which social strata they belong, but he advises

[34] Loebell, p. 228.

[35] *Ag.*, XIII, p. 175.

[36] *Ibid.*, XV, p. 233. For a detailed discussion of the development of the expression "beautiful soul," cf. Erich Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, p. 320. According to Schmidt, "beautiful soul" originally had a religious flavor, particularly with Richardson. With Rousseau it meant a person whose main characteristics were virtue, tolerance, humanity and poetic sentiment. In the Darmstadt circle a "beautiful soul" was expected to possess wit and culture in addition to that; in the "Storm and Stress," also passion, power and genius. Ultimately the expression came to mean the tender womanly sentiment as it is best known from Goethe's "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele." According to Julian Schmidt, in his *Gesch. d. geistigen Lebens in Deutschl. II*, p. 283, Wieland is the first to use this conception in a broader sense, applying it even to the fallen woman.

[37] R. I. Asmus, in his "Die Quellen von Wielands Musarion," has shown that Musarion is only an allegoric figure which is to present a philosophic point of view. *Eu.*, V, p. 289.

them to look for their sweethearts among the virtuous, amiable and home-loving girls, who do not necessarily have to be pretty. "Auch rat ich euch," says the poet, "nicht sie (die Aspasien, Ninon, etc.) zu suchen; die Rede ist nur von dem Falle wenn ihr sie fändet—aber wenn wir keine finden?—so suchet die vernünfstigste, tugendhafteste, und liebenswürdigste Frau auf, die ihr finden könnt. Hier erlauben wir euch zu suchen, nur nicht . . . unter den Schönsten."[38]

Neither is the woman of genius his ideal of womanhood, though he professes the highest admiration for her. He considers Mme. de Staël, for instance, as the most exceptional female being that ever lived on God's earth, "a true ornament to her sex."[39] She is to him the best proof that woman can vie with man in all intellectual qualifications. But when he comes to analyze her truly feminine qualities, those attributes which distinguish woman by virtue of her sex, Mme. de Stael is to him the very antithesis of his ideal of a woman with whom he would like to be mated for life. He prays to heaven that he may be spared a daughter, sister, grandchild, or great grandchild of Mme. de Staël's type.[40]

To understand what was Wieland's real conception of the perfect woman and ideal womanhood, we shall do best to get acquainted with his essay on "Die Pythagoräischen Frauen," which is to be discussed in a later chapter. It is the picture of this type of woman which he carried close to his heart all through the days of Weimar to the end of his life.

[38] *Ag.*, IX, p. 281.
[39] R. Keil: *Wieland und Reinhold*, p. 267-8.
[40] D. B., II, p. 99, Weimar, 12 Feb., 1808, "An eine deutsche Fürstin."

CHAPTER V

WIELAND'S LIBERAL VIEWS ON THE FEMINIST QUESTION

In our first chapter we have pointed out how the ideas of English and French enlightenment helped to improve the condition of women. The numerous publications and periodicals which dealt with this particular phase of their spiritual and ethical development did not fail to impress the age with the nobility of woman's mission in human society. Though the old sex ideal of woman as a breeder and housekeeper[1] still held sway, a new ethical ideal of womanhood slowly began to assert itself, the ideal of a woman with an individuality of her own, conscious of the dignity of her sex and anxious to be master of her body and soul.

Even those who in practice still clung to the old point of view, owing to the established custom and tradition, in theory at least could not help showing interest and enthusiasm for the new ideal and giving it their moral support.[2]

We shall probably not go amiss in counting also Wieland in this latter class. His very nature made him unfit to become a radical in anything, no matter how advanced his ideas on a subject may have been. His whole philosophy was that of the

[1] Cf. Chapter I, p. 4, and Chap. V, p. 57.

[2] Sophie La Roche, for instance, in her writings the spokesman of a new conception of love, does not apply this theory to her own life. She follows the traditional custom of the interference of parents with the happiness of their children and forces her two daughters into loveless marriages. Cf. also Touaillon, p. 135, Note 208.

calm, reasoning thinker, who strives for peace and harmony in everything. Consequently, in the feminist question also, he would never venture with his views into the extremes of the Storm and Stress or of Romanticism, which were esthetically as well as morally uncongenial to his type of mind.

Wieland felt the social injustice that woman had been subjected to as keenly perhaps as many of his contemporaries, and he really devoted the energies of a lifetime toward helping to right this wrong. But his temperament being what it was, he voiced his protest and suggested his remedies as a compromising mediator rather than as a drastic innovator.

We shall have occasion later to show how he never ceased to emphasize the ideal of the domestic virtues, but how he also insisted on having them combined with that of the spiritual virtues. To be sure, some of his female characters, like Danae, Lais, Glycerion, Hipparchia profess extremely radical views on love and marriage, but this does not at all mean that the author subscribes to them heart and soul. The fact is, he is using them only as a mouthpiece to express the tendencies of the time or to reflect the influences which were working on him. No doubt Wieland's relations with Julie Bondeli, who, as we have mentioned, expressed a dislike for married life,[3] or his acquaintance with Julie's friend, Marianne Fels, who was a sworn enemy of man,[4] induced him to create characters representing the radical views of those two exceptional women.

What then are Wieland's liberal views on woman's social rights? Aside from occasional references[5] to this matter in most of his writings, four works may be considered as the

[3] Ed. Bodemann: *Julie v. Bondeli,* etc. An Zimmermann, Brief 24; Cf. Note 38, p. 26.

[4] C. W. Böttiger: "Wieland nach seiner Freunde u. seiner eigenen Ausserungen" in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch,* X. Jahrg., 1839, S. 404.

[5] P. A., I, 3, pp. 62-63; also *Neue Amadis,* H., XVII, Ges. 4, Str. 1-5.

chief exponents of his theory[6] of woman's subordinate position in human society. Aspasia in *Agathon,* Lais in *Aristipp,* Glycerion in *Menander und Glycerion,* and Hipparchia in *Krates und Hipparchia* advance more or less the same convincing argument in one form or another; if everything is true, Wieland thinks, which misogynists of the different centuries have said about the defects and shortcomings of the female sex, no one else can be blamed for it but man alone.[7] Not by the superiority of his mind but by the brutal force of his muscles, he has usurped all the rights and privileges and reduced woman to a condition little better than that of slavery.[8] Men call themselves the stronger and women the weaker sex. Granted this, woman's weakness is again the result of man's cruelty.[9] By crafty devices and narrow-minded laws he has succeeded in excluding her from all spheres of social, economic and cultural activities and thus prevents her from developing her natural talents and robs her of all opportunity to perfect her individuality.[10]

But Aspasia scorns the idea of woman's being weaker. Is there a man, she asks, no matter how great the strength he may boast of, who in an emergency could go through the same ordeal of suffering as a woman? Cannot the weakest woman often rule the strongest man by a mere look? Woman is by no means inferior to man with regard to intellect and understanding and is even superior to him in matters relating to

[6] Of course this theory is not original with Wieland. The same arguments had been advanced by the aforementioned Dichterorden (Cf. Chap. I, p. 7, and by French and English champions of woman's rights. (Cf. E. v. Salwürk: *Fénelon und die Literatur d. weibl. Bildung in Frankreich,* Langensalza, 1866, and Myra Reynolds: *The Learned Lady in England,* 1650-1760; Boston-New York, 1920.

[7] H., XVII, *Neue Amadis,* XIV, p. 2.

[8] D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp,* I, p. 116.

[9] *Ag.,* XIV, p. 206.

[10] H., X., p. 83, *Krates und Hipparchia,* Brief 2.

delicacy of feeling, excellence of taste and judgment and the just appreciation of all things beautiful.[11]

All through these centuries man has tried to keep woman in subjection, for fear he might sometime lose his prerogatives and power if she ever succeeded in rising from her humiliating position.[12] Therefore he deprived her of all means of perfection and confined her to the small and petty circle of domesticity, thus degrading her as the mere toy of his pleasure.[13]

It happens occasionally that some women overcome the obstacle laid in their way and rise above their sisters, but unfortunately they are too powerless to undertake anything for the liberation of their sex.[14] Lais in *Aristipp,* for instance, is such an exceptional woman, combining with all the charms of external beauty the rare qualities of a highly cultured and refined personality. For this very reason she feels all the more the humiliation to which woman is subjected and her entire nature revolts against this man-made system.[15] It is through her mouth that Wieland criticizes the conditions of his time. She is not a woman of Sappho's type, who would plunge to

[11] Wir sollten das schwächere Geschlecht sein? Sie das stärkere? Die lächerlichen Geschöpfe! Wie fein steht es ihmen an mit ihrer Stärke gegen uns zu prahlen, da die Schwächste aus unserem Mittel es in ihrer Gewalt hat, ihre Helden, ihre eingebildete Halbgötter selbst mit einem lächelnden oder sauren Blick zu ihren Füssen zu legen! In der Güte unseres Herzens liegt unsere Schwäche; die schönste unserer Tugenden ist es, die uns von den Unverschämten zum Verbrechen gemacht wird.—Sie das stärkere Geschlecht? Wo ist eine Fähigkeit, ein Talent, eine Kunst, eine Vollkommenheit, eine Tugend, in der sie nicht weit hinter uns zurückblieben? An Schönheit, an Reiz, an feinem Gefühl, an Behendigkeit und Feuer des Geistes, an Grossmut sogar, an Entschlossenheit und Standhaftigkeit übertreffen wir sie unleugbar; und ich möchte den Mann sehen, der den Mut hätte, zu thun oder zu leiden, was eine Frau zu thun oder zu leiden fähig ist." (*Ag.,* XIV, p. 207.)

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 206.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 207; also D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp,* I, p. 116.

[14] *Ag.,* XIV, p. 207.

[15] D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp,* pp. 116-118.

death from the Leucadian rocks for the love of a Phaon, and yet she is fully aware of the fact that the association with a man was a thousand times more agreeable to her than the company of Greek sisters. And she can see the reason for it in nothing else than the very low level of woman's intellectual equipment.[16]

Greek education—and one might as well substitute "German" for the word "Greek,"—says Lais, is little concerned in the development of woman's soul. Women are raised to become housewives. The Greek man expects from his wife no other qualification than the ability to bear beautiful children, to manage her servants, and to attend to her spinning-wheel. If she happens to be chaste and modest, avoids looking at other men, and thinks that the sun rises and sets with her husband, then he is very happy and thanks the gods for having granted him so virtuous a wife.[17] But why should he not be satisfied? asks Lais. He does not have to see his wife much and can easily escape the boredom of her highly uninteresting company. Should he feel a desire for more attractive association with women, he can either keep a companion outside of wedlock or spend his free time in the house of hetairas. And one really must not wonder why man should seek his diversion outside his home and family. How can one expect him to find interest in the prattle of a wife who outside of her associations with ignorant servants or gossipy cousins and neighbors has no other contact with the world?[18]

Similar views are entertained by Hipparchia in *Krates und Hipparchia:* ". . . dass ich den Gedanken hasse, mich in das Gynäceon irgend eines Mannes zu einem Webstuhl, einem Spinnrocken und einem Dutzend Mägden einsperren zu lassen, um unter einer ehrenvollen Benennung im Grunde weder mehr

[16] D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp,* I, p. 87.
[17] *Idem.*
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 88.

noch weniger als die gesetzmässige Beischläferin eines Mannes zu sein, der mir in den ersten zwei oder drei Monaten, mit einer Zudringlichkeit, die ich für Liebe nehmen müsste, das Recht abgekauft zu haben glauben würde, mich mein ganzes übriges Leben durch, der Unterhaltung mit mir selbst, der Kinderstube und den Geschäften einer Oberschaffnerin seines Hauses zu überlassen, unbekümmert, ob die Erfüllung dieser Pflichten zur Befriedigung meiner wesentlichsten Triebe hinreichend sei oder nicht. Unsere griechischen Männer sind, nach dem Beispiel der morgenländischen, seit undenklichen Zeiten gewohnt, den einzigen Vorzug, den die Natur ihnen vor uns zugetheilt hat, die Stärke ihrer Knochen und Sehnen zu unsrer Unterdrückung zu missbrauchen, und uns in Schranken einzuzwängen, worin die Entwicklung unsrer edelsten Kräfte beinahe unmöglich ist. Wie? Hat Prometheus den göttlichen Funken nicht auch in unsre Brust gesenkt? Oder hat er (wie der Dichter Simonides fabelt) unsre Seelen nur von Katzen Hunden, Affen, Schweinen und andern Thieren gestohlen?[19]

But what of the woman whom Mother Nature had endowed with all the gifts to please, the woman whose mind does not allow itself to be wedged into the limited sphere of domestic routine? Shall she sacrifice her life's happiness to the demands of a time-worn custom of the land, or shall she purchase her freedom of will and independence of action at the price of being classed as an outcast? Lais does not hesitate to choose the fate of a hetaira, because only as such has she the opportunity to develop her individuality.[20] And, in Aristipp's opinion, Lais makes no mistake; for it is not the class that lends dignity to the individual, but the individual that ennobles the class.[21] Besides, no class is immune, main-

[19] H., X., p. 3. Brief 2.
[20] D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp*, I, p. 88.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

tains Lais, against certain preconceived opinions and prejudices. Why, even the honorable and worthy matrons are generally spoken of as stupid geese and magpies; or if they happen to be clever enough, they are considered hypocrites who spend their days and nights in doing nothing but seeking ways and means of deceiving their husbands and thus enjoying both the free privileges of the despised hetairas and the respect which is due the married woman.[22]

A woman who wants to maintain her independence must look upon the male sex as upon a hostile power with which she must never enter into peaceful and sincere relations unless she be prepared to sacrifice her welfare. The reason why woman should adopt this hostile attitude toward man is clear enough when one considers the shameful treatment accorded her by him all through the ages of history.[23]

Social conventions have brought about a truce between the sexes, but in reality this apparent peace offers men only another way of continuing warfare. Since laws prohibit men the use of their muscles in the subjugation of women, they succeed in ensnaring them by their mendacious flattery and caresses.[24] A very sensitive nature, a vivid imagination, and a too sympathetic heart are on the one side the noblest part of woman's character; but on the other they are the very things that cause her undoing. Through their tenderness and magnanimity they fall an easy prey to men's wiles.[25]

Nature has endowed every creature with a weapon for defence. Woman's only protection in this struggle of the sexes is her beauty, but unfortunately it has proved to be a two-edged sword because it is never granted with the under-

[22] *Aristipp*, I, p. 89.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[25] *Ag.*, XIV, p. 208.

standing how to use it advantageously.[26] In order to regain her independence and at the same time retain her influence over man, woman must first of all conceive an exalted opinion of the dignity of her own sex and then devote all her energies to the development of her spiritual faculties.[27] To attempt the liberation of the entire female sex is out of the question, but every woman should try at least individually to contribute to the uplift of as many of her sisters as she is able to reach.[28] The woman who in addition to her external charms possesses also a superior mind, the woman who can appeal not only to the sensuous but also to the spiritual side of man, the woman who can assist him in his daily occupation by her excellent judgment and cheer him in his distress by her wit and humor, such a woman is destined to rule over hearts in human society.[29] "Slave or free, a beautiful woman who knows her power and also how to use it is a queen wherever she happens to be."[30]

[26] D.N.L., v. 54, *Aristipp*, p. 117.
[27] *Ag.*, XIV, p. 209.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION OF WOMAN

Wieland fell in line with those of his contemporaries[1] who advocated an education for woman as a necessary means for her social and moral uplift. He demanded equal rights with men "for that sex which nature and our social constitution have brought into the tenderest and closest relationship with us . . . so that half of humanity . . . may be freed from a humiliating and oppressive condition of slavery and reinstated into the whole dignity which is due it."[2]

Wieland attacked the problem of woman's education as early as 1758 in his *Theages*. But here he still sees the achievement of perfection for woman in the beauty of her soul and the charm of her character. He thinks it a great misfortune that these "Grazien," which are an inherent part of woman's nature, are being destroyed by the force of a wrong bringing-up: "Lehrt man uns das," says Aspasia in *Theages,* "was wir sein sollen? Man überlässt eine Natur, die der sorgfältigsten Pflege bedarf, sich selbst und dem Zufall, und dann künstelt man, wenn wir schon verdorben sind, so lange an uns, bis wir uns selbst nicht mehr gleich sehen. Glauben Sie mir Nicias, ich habe die liebenswürdigsten Kinder gesehen, die süssesten Cherubimsgesichter, aus welchen eine Seele lächelte, die jeder moralischen Schönheit fähig war und in weniger als fünfzehn Jahren waren sie—in eine Gattung hübscher Affen ausgeartet.—Dieses kann unsere Erziehung."[3]

[1] Cf. Chap. I, pp. 12-13.
[2] H., XXXV, p. 231, "Vorrede zu der allgem. Damenbibliothek."
[3] P.A., I, 2, p. 433, *Theages.*

Gradually, however, Wieland comes to the conclusion that beauty and grace are not the prime requisites for perfection and he lays all the emphasis on culture and education. "Die Schönheit," Aspasia said to Danae in *Agathon,* "ist ein vortrefflicher Firnis, um den Vorzügen des Geistes und den Talenten einen höheren Glanz zu geben, aber nichts ist gewisser als dass . . . die Vorzüge eines durch Kenntnisse, Philosophie und Geschmack aufgeklärten, verfeinerten Geistes, verbunden mit den Reizungen eines schimmernden Witzes und eines gefälligen Umgangs hinlänglich sind, um die unbedeutendste Figur über jedes belebte Venusbild, dem diese innere Quelle mannigfaltiger und nie veralternder Reize mangelt, triumphieren zu machen."[4] He could make this statement on very good authority from his own experience with Julie von Bondeli, of whom he says in his *Amadis*:

> ". . . Können wir doch getrost uns auf die Erfahrung beziehen,
> Dass, wenn ein hässliches Mädchen es einmal so weit gebracht,
> Und sich durch geistige Schönheit, geheime Sympathien,
> Durch Witz und reizenden Umgang und unverwandtes Bemühen,
> Gefällig zu sein, zur Dame von einem Herzen gemacht,
> Dass dann die Leidenschaft, worin wir für sie glühen,
> Das Stärkste ist, was man sich denken kann." [5]

Wieland combatted the old fashioned idea of woman's education which forbade her going beyond the mechanical knowledge of the catechism, a few Aesopian fables, and the ability to scribble a few necessary items in her daily marketing list. In *Krates und Hipparchia* he introduces with very subtle sarcasm the heroine's aunt Leokonoe as the representative of this conservative view. She strenuously opposes her niece's assertion of her independence by saying: "I never liked to see you find more pleasure in books, which we women do not under-

[4] *Ag.,* XIV, p. 210.
[5] H., XVI, p. 169, *Amadis,* 18, I.

stand, than in working at the spinning wheel. In our grandmothers' time, girls had enough education when they knew half a dozen Aesopian fables from memory and could write in a legible hand their daily marketing memorandum. The less a girl saw and heard, the less she asked, the better she was thought to have been brought up; and no honorable matron in the whole of Attica ever dared to dream of being on an equal footing with her husband or to complain about subjugation, because law and customary tradition have since time immemorial granted us a separate gynaceon, where we alone rule."[6]

Wieland missed no opportunity of contributing to what might raise the educational standards of women, and he lent full support to any undertaking which had in view the improvement of woman's condition.[7] In his preface to the *Damenbibliothek,* written in Weimar, September 30, 1785, he says that he is happy to help the editor in his undertaking for the moral and cultural uplift of woman, "since nothing could be more pleasant to me than to devote part of my time to the sex which I shall honor and love as long as I am capable of loving anything and whose service has been my most ardent desire from my earliest youth."[8]

When he made Sophie La Roche's first novel public, though she had enjoined upon him the strictest secrecy about it, he apologized to her "for not having been able to resist the desire to present all virtuous mothers and all amiable daughters of our nation with such a work: for it seemed to me best suited to promote among your sex, and even among my own, wisdom and virtue, the sole great merits of mankind, the only sources of true happiness."[9]

[6] H., X, p. 85, Brief 3.

[7] H., XXXV, p. 236, "Über weibliche Bildung," I.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[9] *Geschichte des Frl. von Sternheim.* Weidmanns Erben u. Reich, 1771, hersg. von Wieland. In der Vorrede.

According to Wieland an enlightened and civilized nation ought not to question whether women, "our mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters," are entitled to share in the national culture and to derive the benefits therefrom the same as man.[10] Nor should it be a question of woman's capacity to vie with man, for it has been proven time and again that women are not inferior to men in reasoning power and understanding.[11]

Already in the preface to his works of 1759 he has gone so far as to assert the superior critical judgment of women with regard to literary productions. Scholars, he thinks, are rarely good and reliable judges of poetical works. He prefers the opinion of men of the world and of experience, but more particularly that of the "fair sex," many of whom are called upon to decide what should please, for nature itself has made them the model of everything that is beautiful and charming . . . Their delicacy of feeling, vividness of imagination, and fine grasp of what is beautiful, sublime and great makes them capable of enjoying the works of genius and of determining their actual value.[12]

The real question is how far woman should go in her search after knowledge and education. Wieland thinks that the very nature of woman, together with her sphere of activity, points out the limits beyond which her desire for culture and knowl-

[10] H., XXXV, p. 233, "Über weibliche Bildung," I.

[11] *Idem.*

[12] P.A., I, 3, p. 89. F. Schlegel expressed similar sentiments when he says: "Vielleicht hat man den Weibern allen philosophischen Geist abgesprochen, weil ihnen der systematische Geist fehlt. . . . Aber in der Gabe die zartesten Laute der Natur innig vernehmen und rein mitteilen zu können . . . im dunklen Gefühl des Richtigen übertreffen vielleicht Frauen, die unverdorben und zum Guten und Schönen gebildet sind viele Männer." (*F. Schlegel, seine pros. Jugendschr.*, I, herausg. v. J. Minor, "Uber die Diotima," p. 63.) According to O. Walzel, Schlegel's studies in this regard take their initiative from Wieland, in whose periodicals he published his early classical studies. (H. Gschwind: *Früh-Romantik*, p. 47.)

edge should not go.[13] He would rather have no line drawn restricting woman's entry into the realm of learning, particularly when she feels herself fitted for it and has no domestic duties to attend to. But on the whole he would like to see her take up those studies which would tend directly to make her "wiser, lovelier, and happier."[14]

Woman is by nature called upon to become a wife and mother. Her ability to educate her children grows naturally enough in the same proportion as her enlightenment, practical knowledge, and nobility of sentiment increase. Since woman really gives her sons their start in education she ought not to be ignorant of the national and political conditions of her country. Otherwise, how is she to inculcate in her child the noble feelings of patriotism and love for the nation of which he is a part?[15]

Following the general tendency of his time, to diffuse knowledge among the female sex by providing woman with the corresponding educational means, Wieland also encouraged special publications for women, like the *Allegemeine Damenbibliothek,*[16] edited by K. L. Reinhold, who later became his son-in-law, and the *Historischer Kalendar für Damen* under the editorship of Schiller.[17]

In introducing the second annual number of Schiller's historical almanac to the reading public, Wieland emphasizes its unique importance and foremost place among the publications

[13] H., XXXV, "Über weibl. Bildung," I, p. 234.

[14] *Idem.*

[15] *Ibid.,* "Uber weibl. Bildung," II, pp. 242-243.

[16] *Ibid.,* "Uber weibl. Bildung," I, p. 237. Wieland helped with his experience as an editor and supervised the work. Of the *Allg. Damenbibliothek,* which appeared in the years 1786-1789, six volumes in all were published. Wieland wrote the prefaces to these volumes. Cf. H., XXXV, p. 231, note of the editor.

[17] *Ibid.,* "Über weibl. Bildung," II, p. 238.

of its kind. The purpose of it, he argues, is not to entertain women by frivolities, but to enlighten them, to improve their understanding, and to ennoble their character.[18] He maintains that at a time when woman is admitted to share unrestrictedly in the national culture, she should not be merely satisfied with cultivating her domestic virtues and social qualifications. The perfection of her soul also gives her the right to share with man the interest in and love for the fatherland. Women are, therefore, to learn to consider themselves as partners in the national association and as members of the political body of which they form a part.[19] The poet is indignant at the fact that so many women, even of the higher classes, are completely ignorant of the history of their own country, while they are well informed on that of other lands. What makes the disgrace still greater is that German women are ashamed of being called Germans and look down upon everything that German literature, art or industry have produced.[20] He therefore calls upon the representative men of the nation to unite their efforts towards the promotion of a more patriotic spirit among women by emphasizing above all the great national affairs and by making German themes such as language and history the object of their literary discussion.[21]

[18] H., XXXV, "Über weibl. Bildung," II, pp. 238-239.

[19] "Die Ausbildung ihrer Seelen giebt ihnen ein Recht, sich auch als Genossen der Nationalverbindung, als Glieder des politischen Körpers, dem sie angehören zu betrachten und neben den Gesinnungen und Tugenden, welche ihre besondere Bestimmung in dem engeren häuslichen Kreise der Familienverhältnisse erfordert, auch die höhern Gesinnungen der Vaterlandsliebe und der Theilnehmung am allgemeinen Wohle des Ganzen in ihrem Masse mit uns zu theilen." (H., XXXV, "Uber weibliche Bildung," II, p. 242.)

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[21] *Idem.*

CHAPTER VII

WIELAND'S CONCEPTION OF LOVE

Wieland has rightly been designated as the poet and philosopher of love,[1] for the love motive is the deep current that runs through all his works. The poet is well aware of this fact and feels himself called upon to give us his reason for it. Thus in *Gandalin* he justifies himself by saying:

"Schon wieder von Liebe und ewig von Liebe!
Jawohl! Was wär auch unterm Mond
Wohl mehr der Rede wert als Liebe?
Und unterm Mond und überm Mond
Was anders ist's als Liebe und Liebe,
Was überall atmet, wirkt und webt
Und alles bildet, alles belebt?

* * * * * * *

Du selbst, O Tugend, du höchste Höh
Der Menschenseele, was bist du, als Liebe,
Du Gott in uns? . . ."[2]

In *Oberon* (1780) love is the soother of all suffering, the blissful rapture of wedded souls:

"O Liebe, süsses Labsal aller Leiden
Der Sterblichen. Du wonnevoller Rausch
Vermählter Seelen! Welche Freuden
Sind deinen gleich. . . ."[3]

[1] In his *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung,* IV, Bd., pp. 322-323, G. G. Gervinus says: "Wieland führte die Zeit in diesen Dichtungen einen Schritt weiter, er ward der Dichter und Philosoph der Liebe. . . . Wieland gab der Poesie einen Gegenstand wieder, ohne welchen sie in der neuen Zeit nicht bestehen könnte."

[2] H., IV, p. 151, *Gandalin,* Prolog.

[3] H., V, p. 109, *Oberon,* V, Str. 41.

On another occasion, in *Der goldene Spiegel* (1772), he speaks of love as being the soul of life and the source of the most beautiful inspiration. Through it a sort of direct connection between the soul and the divine is established.[4] It is the wonderful instinct which nature has destined to be the mainspring of individual and general happiness. Through love man receives the noble name of husband and father, love concentrates his sympathetic inclinations upon a wife, who is part of his own self and upon the children, in whom he sees his own life rejuvenated and reproduced.[5]

Wieland attributes also a great deal of importance to the love instinct of man in its bearing on the cultural development of mankind.[6] "Love," he says, "is without doubt the best and most beneficial of all our instincts. It is the true soul of man. It ennobles all his sentiments and sets all his energies in motion."[7] It fires not only man's courage to dare the utmost, but it also inspires the gentlest woman to submit smilingly to an ordeal of suffering which would cause man to shrink back in horror.[8] Without love man would have nothing to do but to eat, sleep, and reproduce the species, like any other animal.[9] Even the gods could not get along without the cheering presence of Cupid. In *Der verklagte Amor* (1774) the god of love is solemnly banished from the Olympian fields because of his mischievous encroachments upon the liberties of his divine brethren. But before long his very accusers clamor for his

[4] H., XIX, p. 65.
[5] H., XIX, p. 64, *Der goldene Spiegel.*
[6] P.A., I, 7, p. 366, *Koxkox und Kikequetzel.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[8] "Die Lieb' entflammt im Manne Heldengluth,
Das Möglichste zu thun, das Aeusserste zu wagen;
Die Liebe giebt dem sanften Weibe Muth,
Was Männer schauern macht, mit Lächeln zu ertragen." (H., XII, p. 213, *Clelia u. Sinnibald.*)
[9] P.A., I, 7, p. 352, *Koxkox u. Kikequetzel.*

recall, realizing that without him life is but a dreary and monotonous shuffle.[10]

Love, even if it be illusory, proves a source of great happiness and sweet memories in the evening of one's life, no matter whether the lovers had been united or gone apart:

"O Zauberei der ersten Liebe!
Noch jetzt, da schon zum Abend sich
Mein Leben neigt, beglückst du mich!
Du Götterstand der ersten Liebe!
Was hat dies Leben, das dir gleicht,
Du schöner Irrtum schöner Seelen?" [11]

The cynical irony with which he had derided all love relations during the period of his connection with the circle at Warthausen[12] gives way to a more serious and loftier tone, that condemns his former attitude and thus proves that the frivolous productions of the Biberach period were only a temporary aberration and a reaction from the exploded enthusiasm of his youth.

"Verachte, Psyche, der Bacchanten,
Und Satyrn Hohn! Geneuss der sel'gen Schwärmerei
Des goldenen Traums, der uns zu Anverwandten
Der Götter macht! Lass kalte Sykophanten
Beweisen, dass er Täuschung sei,
Und glaube du, Glückselige, der Stimme
Des Engels, der in Deinem Busen wohnt!" [13]

But Wieland had become a rationalist, and rationalism recognizes no love which is either the expression of sentimental and morbid impulses or the passionate manifestation of a strong vitality. That sort of love is not in harmony with the

[10] D.N.L., Vol. 51, pp. 122-161, *Der verklagte Amor.*
[11] H., XII, p. 10, *Die erste Liebe.*
[12] Cf. Chap. III.
[13] H., XII, p. 13, *Die erste Liebe.*

demands of reason and is therefore made light of by the representatives of rationalism.[14]

Thus Wieland in *Pandora* also demands moderation in love, saying: "Es ist mit den Leidenschaften wie mit allem in der Welt—Wenig schadt wenig—Zu viel ist immer ungesund; und Wasser, das gut zu trinken ist, taugt nicht in den Schuhen."[15] He advises those who cannot be masters of their passion to avoid the object of their infatuation or to flee from her side:

> "Die Flucht ist sicherlich
> (Das Unterliegen ausgenommen)
> Der einzige Weg, aus einem Streit
> Mit Amorn leidlich wegzukommen." [16]

Passions, in general, according to Agathodämon, are to men what winds are to the boat. Without them no ship could accomplish a voyage of any importance. But the skipper must know how to get them under his control if he does not wish to be driven off his course or wrecked on the reefs.[17] Young people of both sexes will always feel attracted toward one another and will manifest a desire to communicate with each other; but, this being the case, they must not allow passion to get the better of their reason, lest they lose their freedom and become slaves to the person they love. The only means of salvation for such people is to avoid being idle and to occupy themselves with the preparation for a good and wholesome life.[18]

There are different varieties of love and it is not quite impossible to develop an attachment for two or three persons at

[14] Touaillon, pp. 149-150, 435. So, for instance, Sophie La Roche demands moderation in love by saying in her *Rosalie und Cleberg*, p. 437: "May Heaven guard every woman against a strong and lasting passion."

[15] H., XXIX, p. 212, *Pandora*.

[16] *Ibid.*, IV, *Gandalin*, pp. 160, 203; *also Ag.*, V. Buch, p. 137.

[17] H., XXIII, p. 33, *Agathodämon*.

[18] *Ag.*, IX. Buch, p. 280.

the same time without really becoming guilty of faithlessness toward any of them. A person may thus inspire the kind of desire one experiences for a well prepared meal. This is, however, purely the appetite of the animal, love of the senses, with the heart having no part in it. On the other hand, there is the harmony and secret kinship of the souls, an affection springing from sympathy, intelligible only to the one who has experienced such a feeling himself. It is love which partakes more of the spirit than of the senses. But the love which affects senses, heart, and soul at the same time is the strongest and most beautiful, yet the most dangerous of all passions.[19]

Sexual love is by no means degrading, for it is part of our nature. We must seek only to free it from all lower impulses and this we can accomplish by the sense of beauty. Thus in *Musarion* we read:

> ". . . Das Schöne kann allein
> Der Gegenstand unserer Liebe seyn.
> Die grosse Kunst ist nur vom Stoffe es abzuscheiden.
> Der Weise fühlt. Diess bleibt ihm stets gemein
> Mit allen anderen Erdensöhnen.
> Doch diese stürzen sich vom körperlichen Schönen
> Geblendet, in den Schlamm der Sinnlichkeit heinein
> Indessen wir daran, als einen Wiederschein,
> Ins Urbild selbst zu schauen, uns gewöhnen." [20]

It is a mark of real love that it is happy and satisfied with the slightest token of affection from the beloved person. He who in the moment when his beloved grants him the privilege of the first kiss yearns for a greater happiness cannot say that he really loves.[21]

[19] "Allein diejenige, worin jene beiden sich ineinander mischen, die Liebe, welche die Sinne, den Geist und das Herz zugleich bezaubert, die heftigste, die reizendste und gefährlichste aller Leidenschaften, war ihm noch unbekannt." (*Ag.*, IV, p. 127.)

[20] P.A., I, 7, pp. 188-189, *Musarion*..

[21] *Ag.*, V. Buch, p. 129.

It is quite in line with this philosophy when Wieland shows himself indulgent toward victims of love. Thus having had his various experiences with all types of women, he always tries to understand the feminine soul and is not so ready to condemn woman's weaknesses in affairs of the heart as the strict moralists are likely to be: "das Herz kann schuldos sein, indem der Sinn verirrt,"[22] and elsewhere, "Irren und Fehlen—es sind schlimme Gebrechen—aber wer kann sich davon freisprechen?"[23]

In picturing the amorous relationship between Agathon and Danae he takes the opportunity to direct his sarcasm at the prudes of his time and to read them a lesson in the ethics of love. He is not at all convinced that the women who unhesitatingly condemn Danae for her weakness in yielding to Agathon would act differently under similar conditions. People are too readily inclined to make a virtue of necessity. Thus a woman who has passed the bloom of her youth or one who cannot boast of a very attractive figure surely has no right to glory in a virtue that has never been put to a test.[24]

In comparing Danae's and Psyche's love for Agathon he does not wish to make the latter appear as an ideal of virtue at the expense of the former. It was not any particular merit of Psyche's that she herself was pure and undefiled. It was rather a natural consequence of her youth and circumstances. "Was it Danae's fault?" asks the poet, "that she had not been brought up in Delphi, or that the emotions of her youthful heart were appealed to by an Alcibiades and not by an Agathon?"[25] Wieland therefore wishes to persuade those

[22] P.A., I, 7, p. 59, *Idris und Zenide*, II, 62.

[23] H., XXXII, p. 234, *Unterredungen mit dem Pfarrer* * * *. Wieland's sympathy for the fallen woman whose errors were due more to an unfortunate combination of circumstances than to weakness of character, brings him nearer to the writers of modern realism.

[24] *Ag.*, V. Buch, p. 148.

[25] *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 271-272.

young ladies who are destined by nature to make men happy, to be more generous and charitable wherever the moral reputation of one of their sisters is concerned. He advises them not to boast too much of their innocence nor rely on their strength of character in matters of the heart, but always to be on their guard and to remember one thing: no man, however deserving of a woman's love, is worthy enough that she should lose on his account her equanimity and peace of mind.[26]

The same sentiment is also voiced in *Araspes and Panthea* by one of the slave girls: "What joys hast thou to offer me, O Cupid? What sweet torments, pleasing pains, voluptuous sighs, amorous trifling, and whatever else can charm the frivolous souls of giddy maids? Should I sacrifice the sweet peace of a maiden heart and noble liberty, the soul of life, for such froth? Should I sell my happy days to presumptuous man? Shall my contentment depend on his smiles? Shall I make the slave who grovels at my feet master of myself? No, sweet Cupid, at such high price I shall not purchase thy joys."[27]

There is only one condition under which maidens may listen to the pleadings of love: "When virtue and wisdom in tender sympathy lead in fair Hymen, then your hearts may yield to the sweet persuasion and be filled with sacred love, the source of life and domestic happiness."[28]

True love makes one modest[29] and is just as careful to enjoy its happiness in quiet as false and flirtatious love seeks to make a great noise about it.[30] True love does not necessarily spring from passion. Very frequently it comes from a calm and sympathetic attitude of one person toward another who happens to be in a condition of deep affliction. A woman's sym-

[26] *Ibid.*, V, p. 149.
[27] P.A., I, 3, p. 76, *Araspes und Panthea.*
[28] P.A., I, 3, pp. 76-77.
[29] *Ag.*, VI, p. 172.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

pathetic interest in a man's misfortune will often awaken a strong affection in this man's heart for his comforting companion. Thousands of happy and lasting love affairs take their origin from such deliberate relationships between men and women.[31]

Only love that is based on complete harmony of character and on a mutual trust and esteem leads to a happy union that will be enduring even after the enchantment of the first infatuation is dispelled.[32] Love, however, that lacks these foundations is only a sweet fruit from the garden of the gods: "It wastes away in the same proportion as it is enjoyed . . . but no matter how long it may last it will have to end some time."[33]

The same philosophy was advanced by him earlier in *Die erste Liebe:*

> ". . . glaubest du, der hohe Wonnestand
> Der ersten Schwärmerei, er werde dauern können?
> Wie gerne wollt' ich dir den süssen Irrtum gönnen!
> Doch leben wir nicht unterm Mond?
> Was bleibt vom Los der Sterblichkeit verschont?
> Im Zauberlande der Ideen,
> Da gäb' ich zu! Allein in unsrer Welt,
> In dieser Werktagswelt, wo bloss vom langen Stehen
> Selbst der Koloss von Rhodus endlich fällt,
> Wird, glaube mir, solange sie noch hält
> Nichts Unvergängliches gesehen.
> Da hilft kein Reiz, kein Talisman!
> Der Zauber löst sich auf!—Wir essen
> (Verschlingen oft und thun nicht wohl dran)
> Die süsse Frucht, und mitten in dem Wahn
> Des neuen Götterstands, dem magischen Vergessen
> Der Menschheit, werden uns die Augen aufgethan.
> So wie die Seele sich—dem Leibe
> Zu nahe macht, weg ist die Zauberei!
> Die Göttin sinkt herab—zum Weibe,
> Der Halbgott wird—ein Mann."[34]

[31] *Ag.*, VI, p. 173.
[32] D.N.L., vol. 55, *Aristipp,* Buch 3, pp. 123-124.
[33] *Menander und Glycerion,* Cotta ed., p. 207.
[34] H., XII, p. 15, *Die erste Liebe.*

During his whole life Wieland puzzled over the complicated problem of sex relations; he advanced his theories on the subject and offered solutions which on the whole coincided with the rationalistic philosophy of life. But as he grew older and the younger generation brought forth entirely new ideas in this regard, he fell in with the trend of his time and treated the question from the new point of view. Thus, when the romanticists, particularly Friedrich Schlegel in his *Lucinde,* argued against the soundness and the morality of marriage (as it was practiced at that time), and considered a free and voluntary union between the sexes as the only moral substitute for what they regarded as "Konkubinatehen,"[35] Wieland, too, although now over seventy years old, took up the problem of free love and made the Greek comedian Menander and the hetaira Glycerion the eloquent exponents of it. In *Menander und Glycerion* (1803) neither the hero nor the heroine believes in the stability and the constancy of love,[36] Menander is convinced that no matter how great the charms and virtues of women may be, they will never cure man of his fickleness and the greediness of the senses. Love for a woman, therefore, is a mere delusion like anything else, and only the feelings of the moment are the true and real thing. Glycerion, on her part, thinks that man and woman are about the most opposite and the most discordant creatures on God's earth. They never really have the same conception or sentiment about any one thing, they can never understand each other nor be in harmony

[35] For a discussion of Schlegel's opinions and those of Fichte and Schleiermacher, which were even more radical, see O. F. Walzel, *Dt. Romantik,* 4 ed., Bd. I, pp. 61-65.

[36] As early as 1772, in *Diogenes v. Sinope,* the poet is not quite sure whether love can last forever: "Ob es eine ewige Liebe gibt? Das weiss ich nicht. So viel ist gewiss, dass es unbesonnen wäre einander ewige Liebe zu schwören, so geneigt man dazu mit sechzehn Jahren ist. Aber ewige Liebe schwören, nein, meine Kinder, ich will euch keinen Anlass geben einander desto eher überdrüssig zu werden." (P.A., I, p. 305.)

for any length of time. It would be preposterous to bind two such different beings together by the magic ring of love. Besides, love ceases to be love as soon as it is deprived of its freedom. The law has no right to mingle in the affairs of the heart. Marriage has absolutely nothing to do with love. Marriage is only a civil contract, safeguarded by the advantages that it carries with it. To change love into such a contract means to degrade love.[37]

Menander agrees with Glycerion in this respect, maintaining that the institution of marriage was once indispensable for the foundation of the first civil communities, and it will always remain an important and necessary means of keeping the lower classes of people in good order and discipline. However, this disciplinary expediency is entirely superfluous when it is a question of highly cultured people, who surely need no such method of coercion. How long two people ought to live united is entirely dependent on the duration of their mutual love. Whether it is to last for life or only for a short while, whether two lovers are to be separated by death or by their own free will ought really not to be the concern of the State.[38]

In reading this harangue against marriage we might easily be tempted to accuse Wieland of hypocrisy and duplicity, knowing as we do that practically through all of his work he advocated marriage and family life as the basis of all human happiness. But we need only take a glance at *Krates und Hipparchia,* the charming little novel that was published immediately after *Menander und Glycerion,* in order to understand what Wieland really meant by giving us this impassioned account of views and sentiments that were so much in vogue at the end of the eighteenth century.

In *Menander und Glycerion* he presents to us two extraordi-

[37] *Menander und Glycerion,* p. 174.
[38] *Idem.*

nary, independent individuals who believe that cultured people can easily dispense with the marriage vow in affairs of the heart. Glycerion is convinced that a love relation which is freed from all restraints of the law is more likely to endure: "Jetzt da ich frei bin," she says to Menander, "fällt mir gar nicht ein, dass ich jemals aufhören könnte dich eben so innig zu lieben wie jetzt. . . . Was ist gegen ein solches durch Freiheit zugleich veredeltes und befestigtes Bündnis einzuwenden? Bedarf es der Fackel des Hymenäus, um die Flamme einer reinen Liebe zu unterhalten?" [39]

Yet in spite of these high sounding words, uttered apparently in all earnestness, their infatuation wears off before long and they part without being strongly affected by their separation.[40]

Let us consider on the other hand the counterpart to *Menander und Glycerion,* the novel *Krates und Hipparchia.* Here, too, the main characters are highly cultured personalities, Krates the cynic philosopher, and Hipparchia the daughter of a respected Greek citizen. Like Glycerion, Hipparchia finds fault with marriage. But from her arguments[41] we gather that it is not marriage as an institution which she condemns, but the tyrannical abuses of custom and tradition which led to the demoralization of married life. Here again, as in a good many instances before, Wieland seizes the opportunity of criticizing the deplorable conditions of married life as it existed in his time and of picturing it as he wished it to be.[42]

The practical Hipparchia, though she despised the Greek Gynaeceon as much as Lais,[43] had no intention at all of escaping it by following in the latter's footsteps: "Das Schlimmste indessen, was ich bei meiner Denkart über diesen Punkt zu

[39] *Menander und Glycerion,* p. 175.
[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 216-217, 222, 228.
[41] H., X, Brief 2.
[42] Cf. Chap. VIII, pp. 79-80.
[43] Cf. Chap. V, p. 57.

befürchten habe, wäre lebenslänglich zu bleiben, was ich bin. Es ist nicht was ich wünsche, muss es aber sein, so werde ich mich darein zu finden wissen."[44] Her ideal is the one that Wieland expects everyone to have, namely, the foundation of a happy home with a husband of her own choice: "Indessen gebe ich noch nicht alle Hoffnung auf, über lang oder kurz, durch Vermittlung meines guten Genius an einen Mann zu geraten, der für mich taugt, einen Mann, der es nicht unter seiner Würde hält eine Verbindung auf gleiche Vorteile mit mir einzugehen. . . ."[45]

Thus Wieland refutes his critics who see in him an ardent defender of the hetairas.[46] Loebell hits the mark exactly when he calls attention to this particular novel and says: "Und damit ist deutlich ausgesprochen, was der Dichter wollte—diejenigen eindringlich widerlegen, welche trotz der über Danae und Lais gekommenen Nemesis, in ihm einen unbedingten Apologeten des Hetärenwesens zu sehen meinten."[47]

[44] H., X, p. 84, Brief 2.
[45] *Idem.*
[46] *Jahrbuch der Goethe Gesellschaft,* I, p. 94; B. Seuffert: "Wieland."
[47] J. W. Loebell, p. 346.

CHAPTER VIII

WIELAND'S CONCEPTION OF MARRIAGE AND DOMESTIC HAPPINESS

Domestic happiness was the quintessence of Wieland's early aspiration and of his life after marriage, and domestic happiness was the ideal which he tried to impress on his time. His sentiments in this regard are best voiced in his letter to Leonard Meister in Zürich. (Weimar, Dec. 28th, 1787.) There he says: "In all my adventures of love there was a great deal of illusion, but real happiness I have known since the 21st of October, 1765, the period of my married life."[1] Wieland's ideal of a wife in theory seems to be the woman who combined the intellectual qualities of a cultured Greek lady with the domestic virtues of a good woman.[2] His own case proves, however, that in practice he preferred the latter qualifications to the former. Dorothea Wieland was at no time her husband's intellectual equal, but in his eyes she embodied all the nobleness and virtuousness of the sex, which in his estimation were the prime requisites for a harmonious union between man and woman.[3] Thus Hipparchia[4] did not care to marry any man until she found the one to whom she was willing to become "was ein edles und gutes Weib einem Manne sein

[1] A.B., III, p. 390.
Ibid., p. 379; also A.B., IV, p. 261, letters to his daughter, Charlotte Gessner, Dec. 13, 1801, and June 10, 1802.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11, letter to Gleim, Nov. 15, 1770.
[3] See Note 1.
[4] Cf. Chapter VII, p. 78.

kann: Freundin, Geliebte, Gattin, Mutter seiner Kinder, Teilnehmerin seiner Lebensweise und aller seiner Freuden und Leiden, Genossin aller seiner Vorzüge und Vertraute aller seiner Gedanken, kurz, seine treue und unzertrennliche Gefährtin durch alle Schicksale des Lebens bis in den Tod."[5]

But an ideal relationship of this kind could only be established if the parties contracting the marriage were absolutely free in making their decision for life. Wieland, therefore, vigorously disapproved of any arbitrary interference on the part of the parents when the marriage of their children was concerned. When choosing a husband for his daughter, Wieland maintained, the father should have the fortune of his child and not his own in mind. By virtue of his maturer judgment and greater experience he may be more qualified to know who is the right person for her. But in trying to prevent his daughter from making a possible mistake in this regard, he should use discretion and persuasion rather than force his own preference on her.[6] The poet probably had in mind the fate of his cousin, Sophie Gutermann, who was forced by her father to break her engagement with her betrothed, Dr. Bianconi, and later influenced to marry La Roche. Wieland is opposed to marriages where there is a too great discrepancy in the ages of the couple. On several occasions he pictures the unpleasant results of such a union, as in the relationship between Gangolf and Rosette,[7] in that of Kalliope and Menecrates;[8] and it is to be noted that the poet himself at the age of 32 did not care to marry a young girl.[9]

The man who makes up his mind to partake of the bliss

[5] H., X, p. 118, Brief 16.
[6] H., X, Brief 2, pp. 81-82.
[7] H., V, pp. 85-97, *Oberon*, VI, Ges.
[8] H., XXI, p. 44, *Peregrinus Proteus.*
[9] Cf. Chapter II, p. 21.

that family life offers must renounce all the petty pleasures of vanity and stop roaming about all the four corners of the world.[10] For he who spends his days in traveling without allowing some of his time to his wife and children may some day wake up and find his home-life destroyed. Thus Agathodämon, after his rather exciting experiences with Chrysanthis, tries to convince her husband, who left her alone too often, that the advantages which he derived from his frequent travels were in no way an adequate compensation for the happiness that he might find at the side of his wife.[11]

Wieland wants to have married life encouraged. People should not worry too much about the future, for God will take care of that. If everybody were trying to look too far ahead, we would have no marriages at all.[12] The poet sees in a growing population one of the most important factors for the promotion of the welfare of the state and nation. In order to achieve this he advocates suitable marriage laws. No one should be allowed to remain unmarried, unless he could prove in court that he was afflicted with some bodily incapacity, be it hereditary or accidental.[13] He recognizes, however, another exception: a poet or a man of genius should not marry, because he really belongs to the whole world.[14]

It is rather strange that with all his love for his wife and his home Wieland should entertain such sentiments. But it is quite possible that he carried within him the subconscious feeling, perhaps through the result of experience, that domestic life, though a bourne of bliss for the average man, is a hindrance to the development of the poetic genius. Exactly the same standard he applies to the exceptional woman. In his

[10] A.B., III, p. 270, letter to Gleim, Jan. 8, 1777.
[11] H., XXIII, pp. 58-59, *Agathodämon.*
[12] A.B., III, p. 270, letter to Gleim, Jan. 8th, 1777.
[13] H., XIX, p. 115, *Der goldene Spiegel.*
[14] D.B., p. 191, letter to Riedel, June 19th, 1768.

essay on the famous Anna Maria Schürmann, he remarks "she never entered the state of matrimony, a course which all extraordinary persons of her sex ought to pursue."[15] However, the man who stands alone in the world gets into a certain rut from which he can rarely escape. He loses his ambition and is satisfied with almost any kind of existence.[16] But the thought of those whom he loves acts as an incentive for shaking off this state of inertia. He becomes very anxious about the welfare of his family and is not satisfied merely with making a living for them, but he strives to make their life as pleasant as possible. He works, steadily improves on his work, and is happy with any occupation which will bring joy to his loved ones.[17] If mankind ever lost this incentive it would surely deteriorate to the level of the beast.[18]

Danischmend is too peaceful a man to seek a quarrel with anyone, but he has no use for the man who lives for himself. Man ought not to be a disinterested spectator in the human drama, but he should try to contribute his share within the

[15] H., XXXV, p. 346: ". . . dass unsere Maria . . . und zwar (wie billig alle ausserordentliche Personen ihres Geschlechts thun sollten) in dem Stand einer freiwilligen und unbemakelten Jungfrauschaft gelebt habe. . . ."

[16] D.N.L., v. 56, p. 292, *Koxkox und Kikequetzel.*

[17] From the following letter it can easily be seen that Wieland identified himself with the hero of his novel: "Ich habe nun eine ganz artige Nachkommenschaft um mich her, vier Mädchen und vier Jungen, alle so gesund und munter, gutartig und hoffnungsvoll, jedes in seiner Art, dass ich meine Lust und Freude daran habe und mich gerade wegen dessen, was die meisten für eine grosse Last halten würden, für einen der glücklichsten Sterblichen auf Gottes Erdboden halte. Das Alter überschleicht mich ganz unmerklich mitten unter dieser um mich aufsprossenden und aufblühenden jungen Welt. Ich erfahre je länger, je mehr, dass alle wahre menschliche Seligkeit innerhalb den Reizen des ehelichen haüslichen Lebens liegt. Ich werde immer mehr Mensch und in eben der Proportion immer glücklicher und besser. Arbeiten wird mir Lust, weil ich für meine Kinder arbeite. . . ." (D.B., p. 162, Brief an Sophie, Weimar, Feb. 14th, 1781.)

[18] D.N.L., v. 56, p. 292.

limits of his power.[19] Perisadeh cannot conceive of an existence without her husband and children. Through her married life she has come to feel that the happiness of others is a necessity for her peace of mind.[20] So Pervonte wishes for no other happiness than

> "Uns lieben, Vastola, und alles um uns her
> Mit unserm Glück erfreuen und beleben,
> Sei unser Los. Was könnten wir noch mehr
> Uns wünschen, oder was die Feen mehr uns geben?"[21]

For Danischmend domestic happiness is the only kind of perfect joy that man may find on this earth: "Ich habe noch nie einen Menschen mit seinem Dasein unzufrieden, neidisch über andrer Glück, boshaft und übelthätig gesehen, der in seinem Kabinet, in seiner Kinderstube und in seinem Schlafzimmer glücklich war . . . Ein Mann, der in seinem Hause glücklich ist, ist immer ein guter Bürger, ein guter Gesellschafter, ein guter Mensch."[22] The very fact that the ability to enjoy domestic happiness is so natural to all human beings and requires no artificial aids for its existence is sufficient proof that home life is the real source of happiness.[23]

It is through the mouth of Danischmend that Wieland attacks celibacy and expresses his keen sympathy with those men who possess all the qualifications for sharing in the greatest and purest joys of mankind and yet are forced to do without them. His heart goes out to the unfortunate women who are condemned to eternal sterility: ". . . an die armen, unschuldigen Geschöpfe, die Gott der allmächtige nach Seel' und Leib zu Müttern erschuf und die der Aberglaube oder eine grausame Familienpolitik zum trostlosen Stand ewiger Un-

[19] P.A., I, 10, p. 357.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[21] H., XII, p. 78, *Pervonte.*
[22] P.A., I, 10, p. 342.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

fruchtbarkeit verdammt—an die mag ich gar nicht denken! Das Herz im Leibe blutet einem Kerl, der an sie denkt!"[24]

The woman who gives no heed to the call of nature and pursues her happiness in a different direction has a very sad awakening after the bloom of her youth has passed. Lais realizes too late that she is too far removed from the only true road which nature had pointed out to her sex. She had tasted to the full everything that life could offer and all there is left now is disgust and despair. Motherhood, the only thing that still might compensate her for her failure in life, is no longer within her reach. "Die arme Frau hat alles, das einzige ausgenommen was sie glücklich hätte machen können; und dies einzige ist nicht mehr in ihrer Gewalt."[25]

Motherhood is a magic word for Wieland. It sends a strange thrill through his whole being. In the presence of motherhood he seems to be overawed and finds no words to give expression to his feeling of worship and admiration:

> ". . . o welch ein Augenblick!
> Und sieht das holde Weib, mit einem Liebesgotte
> An ihrer Brust, vertieft, verschlungen in ihr Glück.
>
> Ihr denen die Natur beim Eingang in dies Leben
> Den überschwenglichen Ersatz
> Für alles andre Glück, den unverlierbaren Schatz,
> Den alles Gold der Aureng-Zeben
> Nicht kaufen kann, das Beste in der Welt,
> Was sie zu geben hat, und was ins bessre Leben
> Euch folgt, ein fühlend Herz und reinen Sinn, gegeben,
> Blickt hin und schaut!—Der heil'ge Vorhang fällt!"[26]

While the sight of Amanda in *Oberon* with the new-born child at her breast fills the poet with silent awe and causes him to gaze at this miracle with respectful admiration, the

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 344.
[25] D.N.L., 55, p. 148, *Aristipp.*
[26] H., V, p. 137, *Oberon*, VIII, Str. 79-80.

presence of the Christian mother in the midst of her children (*Peregrinus Proteus*) inspires him with an almost unrestrainable desire to kneel down and worship before her or to embrace her affectionately. Her whole being seemed to radiate virtue. "Without ever having been what one would call a beauty, that mixture of poise and modesty, of earnestness and kindness, wisdom and simplicity, industry and repose which were reflected in her features lent her such a peculiar dignity and grace that with all her motherliness . . . there was something of the Immaculate and the Vestal Virgin about her."[27]

In an age when the conception of marriage relations was not on a very high moral plane, Wieland insisted on strict, lawful monogamy. His novel *Koxkox und Kikequetzel,* in which he contrasts the blessings of happy married life with the sad effect of illicit relations of the sexes, is a serious arraignment of polygamy.[28] The breaking up of family ties results in the corruption and demoralization of society.[29]

Fidelity and loyalty between husband and wife and the sanctity of the marriage bond are themes which Wieland treats over and over again; but the supreme development of these themes is found in *Oberon,* the apotheosis of conjugal fidelity and love.

> "Ein edles Paar in Eins verschmolzner Seelen,
> Das treu der ersten Liebe blieb,
> Entschlossen, eh' den Tod in Flammen zu erwählen,
> Als ungetreu zu sein selbst einem Thron zu Lieb'!" [30]

As early as 1759 we hear him sound this note in his *Araspes und Panthea.* Araspes is severely rebuked by Arasambes on account of his impure passion for a married woman: "For

[27] H., XXI, p. 145, *Peregrinus Proteus.*
[28] P.A., I, 7, pp. 355-366.
[29] *Ibid.,* p. 366.
[30] H., V, p. 189, *Oberon,* XII, 57.

remember," explains Arasambes, "that the bonds which tied Panthea and Abradates together are as sacred as the order and the eternal harmony of creation. What would become of society if these bonds ceased to be sacred and inviolable? It would be a brutal multitude without a sense of shame, wild and lawless like the savages that roam the Bactrian forests. Chaste love, a sweet bourne of domestic happiness, would be degraded to the weak desires of a moment . . . the wretch who lusts after the sacred beauty of a married woman is a wild beast who would break the ties by which nature herself has united all mankind into one family." [31] And what he expressed here so strongly in prose is later repeated in a most charmingly flowing verse by Amanda when she pleads for the life of her beloved husband:

> "Ich bin sein Weib! Ein Band, das nichts zerreissen kann,
> Ein Band, gewebt im Himmel selber schlinget
> Mein Glück, mein Alles fest an den geliebten Mann." [32]

But as sacred and inviolable as Wieland expects the marriage tie to be, he does by no means believe in its indissolubility. It is true, love and marriage ought not to be the work of blind passion, but of calm deliberation, mutual understanding and harmony; nevertheless, a certain element of hazard cannot be avoided on either side.[33] If the union then really proves a failure, it should not be continued, but dissolved. Thus in *Freundschaft und Liebe auf der Probe,* where the marriage "à quatre" proves a failure, Wieland takes occasion to express his belief in sound divorce laws, which he considers a real boon to mankind, provided they are not abused.[34]

In order to counteract the evil influences of the times on

[31] P.A., I, 3, pp. 70-71; cf. also *Ag.,* IV, pp. 100-101.
[32] H., V, p. 187, *Oberon,* XII, 48.
[33] H., XIII, p. 106, *Hexameron.*
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 113.

family and home-life and to uplift woman spiritually and morally by teaching her the proper conduct in her affairs of every day, Wieland wrote his essay on "Die Pythagoräischen Frauen" for the *Historischer Kalendar für Damen, 1790.* In this work he touches upon practically every phase of woman's life in regard to her domestic relations. Thus Melissa speaks to her friend Klearete about the way in which woman ought to dress and counsels simplicity and modesty in her attire, for the adornment of a woman who intends to and really ought to please only one man consists in her morality and not in her dress. "Statt der Schminke diene Dir die schöne natürliche Röthe, die ein Zeichen der Schamhaftigkeit ist, und Rechtschaffenheit, Anständigkeit, und Sittsamkeit statt goldner Ketten und Edelsteine." [35]

Periktione raises her protest against luxurious habits, vanity and sensuality and maintains that only the woman who is superior to all these foibles is capable of bringing joy and happiness to her husband, children and friends.[36]

Theano discourses on the proper bringing-up of children,[37] and on the management of the household and the domestics.[38] For her the essence of a woman's entire existence is "her complete devotion to her husband."[39] For that reason she is willing to overlook a man's frivolous relations with women outside of wedlock. She comforts her friend, Nikostrata, who is jealous of her husband's attentions to a hetaira as follows: "It is you whom he really loves when reason is his master (wenn die Vernunft Herr über ihn ist)—his love for the other is only the result of passion. But passion lasts merely a short time; one gets tired of it and it vanishes as

[35] H., XXXV, p. 45, "Die Pythagoräischen Frauen."
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 40; also cf. Chapter III, p. 37, note 35.

fast as it comes. A man would have to be a real good-for-nothing who could be captivated by a loose woman for any length of time. Be convinced, therefore, that the claim which you have upon him, will bring him back to you."[40]

Theano's indulgence with respect to a man's temporary infidelity towards his wife does not mean, however, that Wieland condoned such conduct. The numerous instances[41] in which he emphasized loyalty and fidelity in marital relations are sufficient to cause us to reject such an assumption. It seems, however, that he was willing to compromise in this regard for the sake of domestic peace and the preservation of home-life, for he really believed that any woman with a sufficient amount of tact and cleverness could always manage her husband without his knowing it. This he tries to prove in the *Göttergespräche* (1789-1793). Juno is very curious to learn from Livia how she managed to acquire such firm control over a husband like Augustus who was so jealous of his privileges. "Nothing can be simpler at bottom," answered Livia. "I made him believe, so long as he lived, that I had no other will than his, and yet I succeeded in bringing about the contrary; he thought he ruled me, and I ruled him. In all matters concerning which I was indifferent and which he seemed to value highly, I adjusted myself to his taste and whim. . . . My willingness to please was boundless. Far from annoying him with jealousy, I appeared not to have the slightest suspicion of his love affairs . . . and while I left him under the delusion that he deceived me on this point, I could be sure that he deceived me on no others and in everything that concerned his government, his family and his political relations he undertook nothing without my counsel and made no decision

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37.
[41] Cf. *Araspes und Panthea, Oberon, Danischmend, Koxkox und Kikequetzel.*

to which I had not led him, but always in so delicate a way that he ever believed he was following his own mind, when really he was a tool of mine. By this ruse I profited, in that he was as little jealous of my intelligence as I was of his love affairs; and when I had won this, all was won." [42]

To return to the "Pythagoräische Frauen," Wieland makes one of them sum up what he considers the "moral beauty" of woman. According to Pinthy, it consists in her chastity and conjugal fidelity, in her cleanliness and extreme simplicity in dress and finery, in her freedom from all coquettishness and from the desire to please other men than her own husband, in her devotion to her domestic duties, in her tender love and care for her husband and children, and in the religious faith and piety which are divorced from all superstition and fanaticism.[43]

The poet predicts a regeneration of the European countries provided all women and young girls could be imbued with the spirit of Theano, and he closes his essay by dedicating it to his wife, who in the thirty-six years of their wedded life had proved to him, both as a wife and as a mother, that she equalled the daughters of the Pythagorean order.[44]

[42] H., IX, pp. 34-35, *Göttergespräche*, 4.
[43] H., XXXVII, p. 44.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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to th society in the last decades of the seventeenth century. This changed attitude fell in with the rise of sentimentalism, but the ecstasies of the age of tearful emotionalism created a conception of womanhood no less one-sided and unhealthy. In place of the cynical pictures of the poets of the second Silesian School we have in Klopstock and certain of the anacreontic poets a seraphic creature without flesh and blood.

Thus arose a sharp conflict of ideal and treatment. The grossly sensual conception of the sex still held sway among those circles where the frivolous influence of French writers like Crébillon and Voltaire laid their spell, while the supposed angelic attributes of womanhood were proclaimed in the rhapsodies of the heirs of pietistic hymnology. The dilemma

between these two extremes called for a poet who could create the proper synthesis, the rational and harmonious union of the spiritual and sensual aspects of life.

Such a poet was Wieland. When he began his career in letters he found philosophers and writers just becoming conscious of the many ideas and questions called up by the changing attitude toward woman. Naturally, he also went through all the mental processes that engaged contemporary thought, and it was only after long and serious soul-struggles that he finally arrived at a clarified view of the problem as a whole. As we have seen,[1] he began his literary activity in the spirit of Klopstock's seraphic enthusiasm with an attitude toward woman that is expressed in the honeyed phrases of ultra sentimentalism. However, life experience for Wieland took the form of disappointment in the opposite sex, and in the havoc of disillusion that resulted all the bright phantom angels lost their halos and came tumbling about the head of the perplexed young poet. Indeed, this change of front was practically inevitable for him because of his voluntary absorption in the study of the rationalistic movement and above all because of a healthy bent in his own nature toward the surrounding world of reality. The spirit that now took hold of the young poet tainted his inspiration with an otherwise unaccountable coarseness of outlook upon the feminine question, as a result of which his writings of this period became permeated with the frivolous and sensuous, often so suggestively phrased as to overstep the bounds of decency.

It is undoubtedly of the utmost significance in forming a judgment of this sudden transition from the seraphic idealism of Wieland at Zürich to the gross materialism of Wieland at Biberach to keep constantly before us the fact that the poet considered his former state of mind responsible for his subse-

[1] Cf. Chapter II, pp. 15-21.

quent disgust and mortification.[2] Viewed in this light, the change appears merely as the natural reaction of a normal man from a mode of thinking which has grown offensive to him.

We have followed the poet's spiritual development through these three stages of thought, showing that no matter how far he went in derogatory and destructive portrayal of certain female types, still he never failed to uphold the dignity of the eternal feminine nor to give expression to his unbounded esteem and admiration for womanhood itself. Thus, though many characters and situations in the works of the Biberach period may at first sight seem immoral, a careful study of them will always reveal an underlying moral purpose. These questionable instances serve the poet as a mirror which he holds up to the depraved man and woman of his time that they may see themselves in the same light as he sees them.

There is one marked difference in Wieland's attitude toward woman in the Biberach and Weimar periods. In the former. his criticism of woman's frivolousness and ignorance is negative, carrying no suggestion or remedy for her improvement. Simply by ridiculing her and poking fun at her vanity and other weaknesses, he tries to make her give up her follies and become sensible. In Weimar, however, his criticism becomes constructive, for it offers woman advice and practical lessons as moral guides for her conduct in life.

In satirizing and ridiculing the seraphic vagaries and celestial joys of a sentimental age, Wieland's works came to be a healthy antidote against the extravagant effusions of the Klopstockian school, for they pointed toward a world of reality and its concrete enjoyments. In dealing with the relations of the sexes he gave proper recognition to the sensuous element in human nature, and by emphasizing the unity of the senses

[2] Cf. Chapter III, pp. 29-30.

and the soul he gave expression to a new ethics of love. He became the poet and philosopher of the love instinct and reinstated in poetry, as Gervinus aptly puts it, an element without which modern literature could not exist.

He chose, to be sure, hetairas for heroines of his most important novels, but he did this because they impressed him with their superior culture and refinement, the very virtues and accomplishments which were sadly lacking at his time and which he tried eagerly to spread among his contemporaries. But at no time was the hetaira the ideal of womanhood which was nearest to his heart. Neither Danae nor Lais achieved a happiness that is in store for the heroines who followed the course that nature has outlined for their sex. While connubial bliss and happiness are the reward for the latter, the former have to atone for their transgressions against the moral law of nature.[3]

In his novels Wieland is, as a rule, less concerned with the actual plot than with the message which he wishes to convey to his fellow men. The plot is to him only the firm foundation on which he may put up the solid structure of his ideas on the vital problems of a restless age. All matters pertaining to the moral and social uplift of his country find a place in his works. To him, as to other reformers of his time, the basis of all evil seems to be the laxity of family ties and the low standard of feminine culture and he therefore concentrated his efforts in this direction.

As to the question of woman's position in society and her right to a free development of character, Wieland suggested little that had not already been advanced by the Dichterorden or the *Moralische Wochenschriften;* but he sprang to the aid of these champions of woman's rights with all his vigor, and in his novels, poems and essays he voiced his powerful protest

[3] Cf. Chapter VIII, p. 84.

against the injustice to which woman had been subjected, and lashed mercilessly the underhanded tactics that had been used by men during the previous centuries for the subordination and degradation of the female sex. Whenever he has the opportunity of weighing the relative merits of the two sexes, he gives unmistakable expression to the partiality he felt for woman's spiritual nature. If she sometimes falls below the standard of his ideals, he generally blames man as the cause of her deterioration. In order to improve the condition of the female sex, he advocated the rational education of women, encouraged special publications, with the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge among them, and called upon the representative men of the country to foster in women the spirit of patriotism and national responsibility.

Wieland had a very high opinion of woman's esthetic qualifications, conceding the superiority of man's natural endowments in no field of intellectual achievement; nay, more, in matters embracing sentiment, intuition and emotion he even awarded the palm to woman.

Although he repeatedly expressed the highest admiration for the intellectual type of woman, recognizing no limits to the scope of female education, he nevertheless harbored within him the ideal of the domestic woman and recommended for her the kind of education which would best fit her for the duties of wife and mother. However, his views breathe that new and broad spirit which helped to create the modern ideal of the proper bond of union between husband and wife. He does not care for the one-sided domestic relationship, where the wife is only the drudge in the household, but he wants her to be a real partner with the man of her choice in everything that touches their mutual interest.

He extols married life, motherhood, and domestic bliss as the only source of human happiness and sees in them the very

basis of national life and progress. The loosening of family ties would, in his opinion, result in the destruction of our civilization. Yet he is broad-minded enough to give the opponents of these views a hearing. He allows woman to utter her protest against the conventions of society with regard to love and marriage. However, he does not accept these utterances as voicing his own convictions but rather puts them before us as the radical ideas of a turbulent age of transition and of a changing ethical ideal. Deep down in his heart is ingrained the ideal of the domestic woman as he has known her for thirty-six happy years at his own hearth and as he has pictured her in the characters of Perisadeh, Hipparchia, and the Pythagoräischen Frauen.

Wieland's attitude toward woman on the whole can be summed up in the very words which he himself addressed to a lady in 1773:

> "A man's worth depends upon the relation which he assumes toward a woman. It rises or falls in accordance with the degree of his fitness for associating with her. He who fails altogether in this requirement is not worthy of the name of man." [4]

Nearly a century later a great English poet was moved in the same spirit to a still more felicitous expression of the same idea, this time directed to woman:

> "The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free,
> * * * * * *
> If she be small, slight natured, miserable,
> How shall men grow?" [5]

[4] D.M., 1773. 1-3, April, 59-60; Aus d. Briefe an eine junge Dame: "Ganz allein die Damen sind es, von denen wir die Marque unseres Werthes erhalten; er ist hoch oder gering, je nachdem wir zur Gesellschaft für sie taugen: dem ganz Unbrauchbaren gebührt nicht einmal der Titel des Mannes."

[5] Tennyson: *The Princess*, Cambridge edition, p. 159.

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